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THE
MELBOURNE REVIEW.

No. 5.—JANUARY, 1877.

THE LAND SYSTEMS OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA AND
VICTORIA COMPARED.

To a visitor the general interest taken in farming by all classes in South Australia is very conspicuous. The condition of the crops, the prospects of the harvest, are everywhere discussed. No one doubts but that farming is the interest above all others to be fostered. If you find fault because their railways are disconnected and widely detached, you will be told that they were constructed expressly to facilitate the carriage of wheat to the nearest port; that their object was to put the farmer to the least possible expense, that he may export his produce at the least possible cost and so obtain a remunerative price. Where a railway cannot be constructed, roads and jetties are provided, and all are furnished by borrowed capital. You are told they exported* 200,000 tons of their surplus breadstuffs last year, which they could not have done but for their roads and jetties. One is staggered by these figures—4000 tons per week means a large shipping trade. Large freights from a place mean cheap freights to it, and cheap freights mean cheap goods, and cheap goods mean commerce. The people of South Australia had, at the close of 1875, nearly 150 miles of railways open; 884 miles of main roads made. They were exporting £1,680,996 worth of breadstuffs; £1,833,519 of wool; and £762,386 of minerals. And all this had been accomplished by a population of 210,442,† without borrowing more than £3,000,000.

A comparison with Victoria is at once suggested. Have we built railways, roads and jetties to facilitate the farmers' industry? Do we export breadstuffs? Do we produce even as much as we require ourselves? Or do our 820,000 people produce

* South Australia, by William Harcus, page 59.

† Ibid, page 394.



as much in Victoria as 210,000 do in South Australia? If not, why not? Is it the fault of the climate, or the soil? Is the population unsuited for agricultural pursuits? Or have the land laws been defective in principle or in administration? From whatever cause, the fact remains that South Australia has parted with comparatively little of its land, and it is a large producer and exporter of wheat; while Victoria has parted with a good deal of its territory, and exports none. From a flying visit, a cursory view of the country, and perhaps a superficial enquiry here and there, one would hesitate about offering an opinion; but there are certain facts that stand out prominently which when duly considered enable one, if not to judicially determine the matter, certainly to see by comparison where we have the advantage over our neighbours and where they have the advantage over us.

The Victorian who visits South Australia sees many things that arrest his attention. He is led insensibly into making comparisons between what he has seen at home and what he sees there. He views his own colony from a new stand-point. He gets a glimpse of Victoria as others see her. He asks himself several questions. He observes the practical working of different systems. He meets with the public men—they discuss public questions, and he soon finds that others are as proud of their colony as he is of his. He not only learns their opinion of South Australia, but also gets their opinion of Victoria. He finds that some South Australians look towards New South Wales and not towards Victoria for future alliances. That railways are projected to connect Port Adelaide with the Murray, and that the Riverina trade, which now goes up stream to Echuca, may, when the railway to the North-West Bend be completed, go down stream to the "Port." He sees immutable laws in operation, that silently but steadily destroy provincialism, and promote nationalism. He sees the boundaries that divide these separate communities gradually disappearing from view, and the gradual reappearance of one whole nation, speaking the same language, having the same laws, the same interests, and wielding in its grasp the dominion of the Southern Seas. He soon arrives at the conclusion that co-operation between the colonies, and not isolation, is the true policy of an Australian statesman.

An American wit says, if you want to understand a political question, hear both sides, and believe neither. However true that may be as a rule, and pity 'tis 'tis true, it is nevertheless of the greatest importance that the effect of conflicting laws upon the

settlements along the Australian coast should be cautiously and judiciously considered. He who will not observe the effect of conflicting laws upon our national progress would be as fit to guide public affairs as a mariner who failed to observe the currents and force of the wind would be to command a ship. Isolation fosters misunderstandings, and they produce antagonisms. The frequent meeting of the public men of the colonies would soon dissipate misapprehensions, and lead to a more friendly feeling between the several legislatures. Not only would this pave the way for mutual concession, but their observance of the effect of conflicting legislation would educate them to a common belief of what was best for all. The public men of Australia are scarcely known to each other, except by repute, and then only to a limited extent. It is time that this exclusiveness was worn off. Members of the House of Commons may be seen in every capital in Europe during a recess. Their observation and experience have frequently been given to the "House" when important social questions were under discussion. Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill induced many to visit the States and witness the practical working of the Maine Liquor Law.

Whoever goes to South Australia will soon find he is not in a foreign country, but in one where every one he meets who knows he is a stranger will do all in his power to make his visit agreeable and profitable. Their kindness and hospitality know no limit, and sometimes are rather embarrassing. Of course, one gets unmercifully laughed at now and again. The locking of the railway carriages in Victoria affords an instance in point. That practice does not exist in South Australia, and one is asked why Victorians must be prevented from jumping out of a railway train—and not out of Cobb's coach. Nor are their manufactures behindhand. The locomotive that conveyed a party of visitors to the Burra-Burra mine was made in Adelaide, and a brief visit to the railway workshops shewed they were well abreast of Williamstown. Their railways are substantial and cheap: efficient without being expensive. The Government has just imported from England a locomotive superintendent, and is now importing from the same place a traffic superintendent. They use an air-brake by which they can stop a train going at full speed, within a space of 200 yards.

One hesitates to venture an opinion upon the question as to the relative fertility of the soils of Victoria and South Australia. Limestone is conspicuously observable within a radius of 100 miles from Adelaide. Those who are reputed to be judges say that no better

indication of wheat land could possibly exist. And, further, that the gradual decomposition has the effect of continually enriching and fertilising the land. A visit to Kapunda and to Burra Burra on the north, and to Clarendon and Gumeracha on the east, during the month of October, 1876, showed the enormous extent of land under wheat in South Australia. The view on either side of the railway from Melbourne to Geelong, and thence to Ballarat, is scarcely broken by any extensive cultivation. One has to go nearly to Kyneton before the pastoral character of our country is changed for the agricultural. Not so in South Australia. Stand on the top of the Post-office tower in Adelaide, and you see wheat fields waving within two miles. Go by any railway out of town, and the exception is to see a "bit of pasture." Crops, more or less luxuriant, meet the eye on every side as you go on. The iron horse snorts his way to the north, east, or west, and the wheat fields are waving in all directions.

The latitude of Adelaide is about a degree to the north of Echuca, and is situated on a plain, with St. Vincent's Gulph on the south and west sides and the Mount Lofty range on the east side. The range is about 2000 feet high, slightly wooded, and its base is between three and four miles from the city. The scenery on this range is exquisite, the windings around the spurs reminding one of the drive from Dunedin to the south side of Port Chalmers. The Adelaide plains, that widen out as you proceed north, consist of red clay stoneless beds, very like the land on either side of the Murray about Echuca. The impression conveyed is that the Adelaide plains, like the Campaspe and Loddon plains, have been formed by the same means, and geologically they are almost identical. If the Adelaide plains can produce wheat two or three degrees further north than the Campaspe plains, there should be no difficulty in the way of growing wheat in similar places in Victoria. While wheat fields can be seen for a hundred miles without a break of any consequence, on either side of the railway from Adelaide to Burra Burra, no land better or more suitable for wheat growing can be seen than that lying between the Avoca on the west, the Goulbourn on the east, Goornong on the south, and the Murray on the north. It would be interesting to know the area contained within those boundaries. There lies the granary of Victoria. There lies the inexhaustible wheat-producing soil that some day will provide loading for the thousands of ships that will

sail hence laden with Victorian wheat. Here and there Victoria can present patches of matchless land: Koroit, Munthum, Horsham, Donald; and also patches of almost worthless land. Such extremes do not occur in the places named in South Australia. On the ranges you will find the land under cultivation, on the plains under cultivation, and very rarely do you come upon any large stretch of country as you do from Taradale to Sandhurst where cultivation does not largely predominate. The "Northern Areas" were recently thrown open for selection, and the success of the wheat farms there is in everybody's mouth. As shall be explained hereafter, the system over the Border is selection after survey. For years the northern part of South Australia proper was described as arid, inhospitable, and incapable of growing anything. Through the exertions of the Hon. Ebenezer Ward—"the farmers' tribune"—these areas were surveyed, selected, and settled, and now they hold a front rank as a wheat-producing district. Where the law compels cultivation, one expects to see it; but what pleases the enquirer most is to find that the land which had been alienated twenty years ago is cultivated as regularly, and at the same time as judiciously, as it would have been in Yorkshire. The live fences enclosing the green fields, with the comfortable-looking homesteads dotted about here and there, remind one of Kent rather than Kapunda. The soil in South Australia is apparently no more suitable for wheat growing than it is in Victoria, and we have evidence that it is less productive. In 1875, Victoria cultivated 321,401 acres of wheat, which yielded 4,978,914 bushels, or about 15½ bushels to the acre. South Australia cultivated the same year 898,820 acres of wheat, and the yield was 10,739,834 bushels, or less than 12 bushels to the acre.* Nor do we find anything in the climate that is more favourable for our western neighbours. Sir George Kingston kept from the "earliest days" an accurate record of the rain gauge, and lately published the results of his observations. Comparing them with the information supplied to him by the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria, it is ascertained that so far as the fall of rain is concerned, Victoria is more favoured than South Australia.† With a more productive soil and a moister climate, we must look elsewhere to ascertain why wheat is grown in such abundance in South Australia and not in

* Hayter's "Australian Statistics for 1875."

† The average rainfall (for 20 years) in Adelaide is 21.08.

... .. Melbourne, 26.206,

Victoria. Are the people of South Australia more adapted for agricultural pursuits? Are the people of Victoria enabled to find more profitable employments? Are the land laws more conducive towards fostering an agricultural population to the soil in South Australia than in Victoria? Let us consider each separately.

South Australia was settled on the Wakefield system. The land was sold for a "sufficient price," and the proceeds expended in making roads and importing immigrants. The "province" as it is called, began as an agricultural settlement, and it has increased its resources in that direction every year. Victoria on the contrary began as a pastoral settlement; then gold mining, but with outrageous folly the miner of 1854 was not allowed to get an acre of land for love or money. Hence the cry of "unlock the lands!" Not so in South Australia; the farmer who "rushed" over here from Adelaide in 1852-3, having made his fortune, had no alternative but to return to his own colony. He could not, if he wished, settle here. South Australia, therefore, gained considerably by the wealth of our gold-fields. Farming was encouraged in South Australia, it was discouraged then in Victoria. Not alone this cause, but the excitement caused by gold mining unfitted many for some time for pursuing the less sensational life of an agriculturalist. The policy of the non-alienation of lands, followed by the alienation of large blocks by auction, postponed the day when Victoria could enter the lists as a farming community. If one might be permitted to say so, without uncharitable comment, it is within the memory of every one who has watched the current of events here, that the "people" were kept off the lands as long as the legislature could possibly manage to do so. Nicholson's Act, based as it was on limited auction without conditions, secured the fee simple of the runs to the squatters, and to a considerable extent prevented competition for the purchase of them. The moment that Brooke's occupation licenses were invented to meet the public want, money was subscribed, a suit in the Supreme Court started, the licenses were declared illegal,* and the people again repulsed. Next came the Land Act of 1862, which gave away the land by lottery, at a fixed price of twenty shillings, payable by instalments, and nominal conditions. Mr. Duffy, now Sir Charles Duffy, saw that the lands were going in the same way as before, and he at once stopped the further progress of selection, though not until a million of acres had passed into private hands. He tried to amend

* *Fenton v. Skinner*,

his Act and was turned out of office for his pains. It is almost impossible to pourtray the annoyance that was felt by a large portion of the population, who wanted to settle upon the land as farmers, but were unable to do so. The laws were so framed, up to then at all events, that the capitalists could ensure obtaining the land, and as surely exclude the farmer from the same privilege.

The Land Act of 1865 was passed, the principle of which was lottery for the right of first selection, fixed price, conditions of improvements, but with an absolute right for the selector to have the land put up for auction with a valuation in his favor for improvements, if the condition of residence was not complied with.* The result of this Act was the same as its predecessors. The capitalist had no difficulty in his way; with the auction room in the back ground, he conducted his operations with certainty and determination. This brings us down to our own day—1866, and yet then there was no serious effort made by the legislature to provide for what the public had been unceasingly demanding for fourteen years. The Hon. J. M. Grant, who administered the Land Act of 1865, with an intrepidity and ability that have secured him lasting credit, foiled to a great extent the efforts made to evade the law. Finding however that he was unable to open an avenue for the tillers of the soil to go upon the lands, he framed regulations, under the 42nd clause of the Act, which gave power to issue residence and cultivation licenses for an area not exceeding twenty acres of land on or adjacent to a goldfield, and by that means practically inaugurated a system of "free selection before survey." This was above all other things what the legislature never intended. Indeed, so careful were they to guard against it, that when Mr. Duffy was trying to pass the 47th section of his Act, the clause known as the novel industries clause, a proviso was put in, limiting the number to be granted in any one year to one hundred. That number was invariably applied for three or four times over on the first day of the year. Even that was taken away, for the section referred to was repealed by the 38th section of the Land Act, 1865. The proposal of Mr. Grant was received with consternation in one direction and with unbounded applause in the other. Any complaint as to the legality of Mr. Grant's proposal was drowned by the almost unanimous approval of it in the country districts. The people had at last the power to settle on their own lands, and they would not stay to enquire the means that had been used to give it to them. Long pent up waters,

* The Land Act, 1865, sec. 16,

when the obstruction is overcome, are apt to do great damage in rushing headlong on their course. So, the length of time that the public of Victoria have been kept back from the public lands has had the effect of causing a headlong rush of all sorts of persons to select land, some fit for farmers, others not. On the whole, however, our best instalment of *bona-fide* farmers was obtained under the operation of this clause, more particularly when the area was increased by the issue of four, and subsequently eight, licenses to one person. At best this was but scrambling for land, though under it the foundation of the agricultural interest was securely laid. This system, the result of administration and not legislation, had not the effect of satisfying the public demands. The area was too small, the districts where these licenses were available were limited in extent and by no means fertile, the tenure insecure, and the terms too high. The Land Act, 1869, was passed to meet the public demands. It extended the principle of free selection before survey over the whole territory, and allowed 320 acres to be taken up at a fixed price of twenty shillings per acre, payable in ten payments of two shillings per annum. It was then, and then only, that Victoria began to offer advantages to the settler. And properly speaking, it is from that date that the rise and growth of the agricultural interests should be fixed. It was after the passing of that Act that the Goulburn Valley, the Campaspe, Terrick, Thunder, Loddon and Ovens plains were settled.* And there is therefore a certain degree of unfairness in comparing Victoria with South Australia as a farming country, as the latter has had such a start before the former.

There is some similarity in the history of the land laws in both colonies, although the laws themselves differ considerably in what are regarded in each colony as important principles.

"The alienation of land in Victoria commenced in the year 1838, under Royal Orders in Council, by which the land was exposed to public competition at auction, the minimum upset price being at first twelve shillings per acre for country lands, subsequently raised in the year 1840 to twenty shillings per acre."†

"South Australia was erected into a separate province in 1836, under the provisions of 4 and 5 Will. iv., chapter 95, which, *inter alia*,

* Mr. R. L. Dow, who has specially visited and reported upon these districts, computes the population settled upon these plains, under the operation of the "Land Act, 1869," to be 100,000 persons.

† The Land Office report for 1873, page 1,

fixed the minimum price of land. Under that Act the price was fixed in the first place at £1 per acre, but the necessary area to raise the sum required by the Act—£35,000—not being applied for, at that amount per acre, the price was reduced to the minimum allowed by the 6th section, viz., 12s. per acre." *

In 1843 the 5 and 6 Victoria, chapter 36, came into operation in both colonies, that is to say in South Australia and New South Wales, for Victoria, then Port Phillip, was a part of New South Wales.

The South Australians preceded the Victorians by three years in local legislation on the land question. They began in 1857; we in 1860. But they were a long way behind us in adopting a system of selling at a fixed price—upon credit—and imposing conditions upon the purchaser. The first attempt at local legislation in South Australia was suffered to continue for 12 years; in Victoria barely two. Strangway's Act, which came into operation on the 2nd March 1869, was the first departure made from the auction principle. While that Act did not repeal the Act of 1857, as to the ordinary disposal of town, suburban, and country lots for cash, it permitted country lands to be taken on credit for four years on payment at once of 20 per cent. interest on the purchase money (which is at the rate of about 5 per cent. per annum), and the purchase-money at the end of the four years, credit purchasers being required to reside on the land and effect improvements during the term of credit to the value of 12s. 6d. per acre. The Government were also empowered to proclaim as agricultural areas in which lands were declared open on credit only, and could not be purchased for cash unless they remained unselected for a period of two years; no person being entitled to hold more than 640 acres on credit. It will be observed that there was a great similarity between Strangway's Act and the Land Act 1862 as amended by the Land Act 1865—the legislation in force in Victoria when the Strangway's Act had been passed. Agricultural areas had to be proclaimed in both cases, and thereupon the selector had the exclusive preference. In South Australia the selector paid at the rate of 5 per cent. of the purchase-money, for four years' probation, at the end of the term the full purchase money. In Victoria he paid 10 per cent. per annum,† (at a fixed rate of 20s. per acre) for three years, and at the end of the

* Surveyor-General's (S. A.) Report, on Working of Land Acts, to House of Assembly, 13th September, 1875,

† Act 237, section 12,

probation the full purchase-money. The conditions of improvements and residence differ, insomuch that in South Australia 12s. 6d. expenditure per acre was only required, while in Victoria 20s. was prescribed; and the personal resident in South Australia obtained a precedence over other competitors for the land which he did not get in Victoria. Two important differences remain to be mentioned (1) as to fixing the value of the land; (2) as to determining the choice of selectors.

In Victoria the price was fixed by law at 20s. per acre, and the choice of selectors determined by lot. In South Australia both were determined by the selectors themselves. If there were two or more applicants for the same allotment, the price and the selector were determined by auction limited to the applicants as competitors; he who offered the most money obtained the land. These two principles, while differing from our Acts of 1862 and 1865, are identical with our Act of 1860, which we discarded in 1862. Strangway's Act was superseded by the present Act in 1872, and during its operation, it appears that the total area alienated had increased to an average of 25 acres for each person, of which six acres were under cultivation. The new Act* provides for the division of the lands into six classes, viz., town, suburban, country, reclaimed, special country lots, and improved lands. Town and suburban lands can only be sold by auction; country lands on credit only for the first twelve months. Afterwards the land may be sold on the following conditions:—(1.) Lists to be laid before Parliament for 30 days prior to the land being advertised for sale. (2.) If open for five years, leases may be obtained for ten years at auction at an upset price of 6d. per acre per annum, the land to be offered in blocks not exceeding 3,000 acres, and the lessees to have pre-emption during the lease at £1 per acre. The selection on the credit system provided for personal or substituted residence; the personal resident, however, has the preference where there are more than one applicant for the land. When there are several substituted residence applicants, and only one personal residence, the latter is chosen to the exclusion of the former; and when there are more of the latter than one, then the selector is determined among themselves by limited auction, the substituted residence applicants being wholly excluded from competing. The term of credit is six years, and the interest payable during that period of probation is calculated at the annual rate of 3½ per cent., three years' interest

* The Waste Lands Alienation Act, 1872.

being paid on securing the land, and the remainder at the end of the first three years. The selector may either complete his purchase at the end of six years, or by paying one half the purchase money, obtain credit for the remainder for a further term of four years on payment in advance of interest calculated at 4 per cent. per annum. But when a selector has personally resided and complied with the conditions, he is allowed to complete his purchase at the end of five years. The conditions a selector has to comply with are to take possession within three months of the date of his becoming the selector, to continue to reside upon it after the first six months for not less than nine months during the year. "One-fifth must be cultivated each year, and if omitted for the first year, two-fifths must be cultivated the next." Power is given, as in Victoria, to the Governor to revoke the agreements or licenses by notice in the *Gazette* for failure to comply with the conditions. Here again we find some similarity with the Victorian Land Act, 1869. Residence and cultivation being the important conditions in both, though differing as to the mode of carrying them out in each.

The history of land legislation in Victoria has been partly referred to. In brief, we began in 1860 with the Nicholson Act, which was based upon the principle of limited auction. In 1862, 10,000,000 of acres were set apart exclusively for selection (when agricultural areas were to be proclaimed) at a fixed price of £1 per acre, payable in eight yearly instalments, and on the condition of erecting a habitable dwelling, cultivating one-tenth, or fencing the land during the first year. In 1865, the limitation of 10 million acres was abolished, and a three years' probation insisted upon—cultivation and improvements made imperative, and residence optional. At the end of the three years, the purchase could be completed at £1 per acre if the selector resided on the land, and if he did not, then the land was put up for sale by auction with a valuation for improvements at an upset price of £1 per acre, which for all practical purposes meant the same thing. The Land Act, 1869, introduced free selection before survey—continued the fixed price at £1 per acre to be paid by ten instalments of 2s. each, reduced the area capable of being selected to 320 acres, insisted upon personal residence after the first six months, for two years and a half; cultivation of one-tenth during the first three years, enclosing with a fence, and effecting improvements to the value of £1 per acre. The choice of selectors was thrown on the Department of Lands, as also the power to determine whether the conditions had or had

not been complied with. Unlike South Australia, where sales of all country lands by auction had been stopped until they had been first open for selection for one year, and by departmental practice for two years, Victoria continued side by side with the fixed price system and selection before survey, the sale of country lands by public auction.

The Land Minister in South Australia is relieved of a very onerous and invidious task—that of selecting the selectors—which the minister in Victoria has to perform. In a democratic community, where the popular will acts directly on a minister, and where personal interests are involved, it is next to impossible to perform this duty with satisfaction to anybody but himself, and then only by the determined adherence to what appears to him to be principles just in themselves and uniform in their application. In South Australia competition amongst the applicants at a sale by auction determines who shall have the land. Competitors in Victoria, it is said, first urge their personal claims, or try to obtain the influence of the members of the Local Land Board; if they fail there, they try to invoke the aid of their member of Parliament, frequently complaining that the action of the Local Board was unjust, that the successful applicant is a dummy or has already a large quantity of land, or that he has the influence of some other member of Parliament, and, failing all, they impeach the Minister himself, frequently exaggerating some circumstances connected with the proceedings so as to excite sympathy and support, and at times, perhaps, not stating all the facts of the case. There is always an Opposition in Parliament glad to increase the number of weapons of attack upon the Government, and sometimes there are members of an Opposition who are not particular as to the weapons they make use of. To such, a land grievance is a windfall. An accusation imputing the worst of motives is sensational, to say the least, and it may disgust if not damage the Minister, and through him the Ministry. The disappointed applicants for land know this, and consequently threaten Lands-officers and Lands Ministers “that they will bring their cases before the House.” Now all this is avoided in South Australia, because the choice of selectors is determined by competition; and, in addition, the competition produces an average price of £1 9s. 1d. per acre instead of 20s. as here. The Victorian system, however faulty, was the creature of necessity. That necessity was the systematic and successful evasion of all law by the classes for whose behoof the liberal

clauses of the Land Act were not intended. No doubt there is much that can be said on both sides, but it may be doubted whether the evasion, if not the contemptuous breaking of the law, could be justified, whatever may be said in extenuation thereof. When Victoria was erected into a separate colony, pastoral leases had been promised to the squatters. Those leases were never issued; their pastoral tenure was therefore insecure, so far as title was concerned. The squatters as a class were intelligent and united, and therefore a powerful body of men. They controlled the Legislature, their friends filled the public offices, led society, they had the ear of the banks, merchants, and others. It is not to be wondered at that they protected their own interests. Having no documentary title, their demands were indefinite, and at times aggressive and unreasonable. They complained, and with much reason, that their claims should have been recognised and dealt with; that they were promised a tenure, and faith had not been kept with them. Armed with this grievance—and it was a real and substantial one—they justified all their subsequent obstruction to liberal land legislation in the House, and out of the House, by what they euphemistically called “protecting themselves.” That it was a real grievance may be seen by reference to the practice in the other colonies. In New Zealand, when lands are resumed from a run, the squatter is paid a compensation fixed by the law. In New South Wales, the leases were issued and respected, and legislation of a liberal character was only made effective after the expiration of the first leases, and always with a due respect for them. In South Australia six months’ notice is given to the squatter of the Governor’s intention to proclaim an agricultural area, allowing the pastoral tenant the value of any permanent improvements he may have erected thereon. He gets no compensation, and he is not entitled to what Victoria has always given, a preëemptive right of 640 acres, and under the Land Act 1869, to a reserve for the protection of his improvements to a further extent of 640 acres. It is always a mistake to disregard claims that rest upon reasonable grounds. The persons affected complain of the injustice of the laws, and they persuade themselves into a belief that they are morally justified in not only disregarding the laws, but sometimes in openly subverting them. Whether this be the reason or not, the fact remains that as fast as Land Acts were passed, or areas proclaimed, devices were employed to retain possession of the lands they held as runs; and those devices were successful.

Through the means of the medium—the dummy—and the buying-out system, the bulk of the land passed into the hands of the wealthy classes. To checkmate these devices, the Legislature adopted—(1.) Free selection before survey. (2.) Gave the choice of selectors to the Minister. (3.) And almost excluded courts of law from determining questions under the Act by the large and discretionary powers given to the political head of the department. The land question was made a political one in the early days, and so it continued, and it is contended that it is unfair now to denounce the system created by the squatters, because it is no longer under their guidance or answering their purpose. It is simply a question of whose innings it is, and who holds the bat. To further discuss the justice or injustice of the proposals would be profitless at present; enough that each party considered it had been unjustly treated. As a *quid pro quo* for the Land Act 1869, the squatters were continued in their holdings for eleven years longer, with some other concessions.

South Australia, however, though it respected the squatters' tenure and provided for a six months' notice when any portion of their runs was intended to be resumed, did not escape the difficulties Victoria had to contend with. Dummyism is not unknown there. Mr. Bonney, "the chief inspector and valuator of lands purchased on credit," in his report, dated the 23rd September 1875, says—"The cultivation condition has no doubt tended to check the practice of 'dummyism' to some extent, but as the land cannot be resumed for a breach of this condition for two years, selections are not unfrequently taken up without any intention to cultivate, but merely to hold the land for grazing purposes as long as the law will allow. . . . But whilst the cultivation condition may have checked 'dummyism' it has at the same time introduced an element into the land system which is likely to prove difficult to deal with. Of 495 selectors who took up land during the first six months the Act was in operation, more than 50 per cent. have failed to fulfil the cultivation condition." Our neighbours have also some experience of the system of the selectors selling out "as soon as their time is up." From a return presented to the House of Assembly "shewing the names of credit selectors who had completed their purchases to the 1st July, 1876; the number of acres sold to pastoral lessees; the number of acres sold to others; the number of acres held by the original purchasers, giving the names to whom sold in each case"—it appears that out of 45,923 acres selected in the South-eastern

district (near the Victorian border) only 7,742 acres are returned as not sold ; and out of 120,774 acres selected in portions of the province not included in the south-eastern district, 48,843 acres remain with the original proprietors. A glance at the return shows that the aggregation of large estates is going on elsewhere as well as in Victoria, and the trading selector exists in South Australia as here. What proportion the area referred to in the return bears to the whole area selected, is an interesting question of fact, and it is a pity the return does not disclose it. However, the fact remains that we are not the exclusive possessors of the trafficking selector, and he is not the natural and sole offspring of our Land Acts. It was said that as we sold an acre of land worth £10 for £1 we held out a direct inducement to trafficking in selections, for we made a present of £9 per acre to the fortunate person to whom we granted a selection. South Australian experience shows that under a system of auction the same practice exists. The extent to which trafficking in selections exists either in Victoria or South Australia is very much exaggerated. Must we not look elsewhere for the cause ? Is it not that the land increases in value between the time it is selected and the time of sale, and the selector wishes to realise that increase ? He then selects again, as he can do in South Australia, or comes over to Victoria or New South Wales.

Before following up this subject to its conclusion, let us compare the conditions selectors have to observe in each colony. On the assumption that sale and not leasing is the best system—about which more hereafter—the residence system in South Australia is more elastic than ours. First, substituted residence is not wholly ignored as it is in Victoria, and there are instances where substituted residence would be as serviceable to the colony as personal residence. In the case of personal residence, only nine months in the year are required, while in Victoria, if the letter of the law be followed, residence for the whole of the twelve months is insisted upon. On the other hand, the cultivation condition is far more exacting with them than with us. They require one acre in five to be cultivated every year for six years, while we only ask one acre in ten to be cultivated during the first three years. While we find the same difficulty in enforcing cultivation as Mr. Bonney describes, there is no doubt that the modern selectors here as well as there cultivate more than the law required of them to do.*

* Reports on Farming in Victoria and South Australia, by R. G. Dow, Esq., 1876.

The causes that have led to the adoption of the present land system in Victoria have already been briefly adverted to. According to the departmental report for 1875, it appears that 10,597,829 acres had been alienated; of which 786,083 acres were disposed of under the 42nd section of the '65 Act at the close of the year 1869. There were then 827,534 acres under cultivation, or about 1a. Or. 23p. per head of the population. The cultivation of wheat has largely increased during the operation of the present Act.* In 1871 there were 88,185 acres under wheat, or about one-eighth of an acre per head of the population. In 1875 there were 204,052 acres of wheat, or about one quarter of an acre per head of the population. In other words, the cultivation of wheat between 1871 and 1875 had more than doubled in actual area, and about doubled when compared with the respective numbers of the population in those years. At the close of 1875 there were 16,849,943 acres alienated; of which 6,485,204 acres were sold by auction, and 10,364,739 by selection.† Of this latter area 5,602,519 acres, or more than one half were selected under the Land Act 1869.

Comparing these results with what have been obtained by our neighbours under the operation of their land laws, we find that‡ on the 30th June, 1875, there had been alienated in South Australia, by sale and selection, 5,930,029 acres; of which 1,350,000 were under cultivation. This shows an alienation of territory of 28½ acres for every head of the population in South Australia as against 20 acres in Victoria; while the cultivation in South Australia is as six acres per head to about an acre and a half in Victoria. And of wheat there are four acres per head cultivated in South Australia§ as against four-tenths of an acre in Victoria. We have seen that the climate is better here than there, the rainfall is more regular in Victoria than in South Australia,|| and the land is more productive; why, then, should there be in proportion ten times more wheat cultivated there than here? Are the land systems so different as to account for the disparity? Who would venture upon such an assertion? The exacting of fifty per cent. more from the selector, or leaving the choice of selectors to

* Table XVIII., Appendix D. to Land Office Report, 1873, by H. Byron Moore, Esq.

† Land Office Report, 1875, p. 1. ‡ Mr. Goyder's Report. 1876, p. 3.

§ South Australia, by William Marcus, p. 394.

|| Records published by Sir George Kingston, 1875 :—"The monthly fall of rain in Melbourne is, maximum, 2.42; minimum, 1.82. In Adelaide, maximum, 2.949; minimum, 0.634.

the excitement of an auction, could scarcely be relied upon as conclusive answers. Our neighbours, it is true, demand cultivation every year from selectors, where we only require it once in three years. But this is not a satisfactory answer to one who has seen the cultivation of wheat going on everywhere in South Australia—on lands long alienated, as well as on recent selections. The whole of the farm is, as a rule, kept under crop, to the exclusion of pasture, except when fallowed. Is it that labour finds more profitable employment in Victoria than in South Australia? An acre of land in South Australia produces twelve bushels, at say 4s. 6d. per bushel, or £2 14s. In Victoria an acre produces fifteen bushels, at 5s, or £3 15s., and yet the Victorian is not induced to leave other employments to grow wheat even at so large an advance upon South Australian rates. The South Australian farmer must look for a market abroad; the Victorian need not—yet he will not grow wheat. Is it that Victoria offers more remunerative employments than South Australia, or that our farmers are not so competent as our neighbours, or is it that the farmers here are too few, or the areas held by them too small? No doubt the “placing of the people upon the lands” was done without much discrimination, and many have obtained farms who had afterwards to learn farming. The average area of land taken by each selector under the occupation licenses of 1861 and the 42nd clause of the Act of 1865, was under 50 acres; and that in itself would in some measure account for the deficiency. Under the Land Act 1869 the average selection is about 190 acres.* The holders are, however, becoming more experienced day by day, and the crop of wheat is largely increasing every year. Under these circumstances we may reasonably hope for a gradual and certain increase.

Two other questions arise incidentally at this stage. What remedy is proposed to meet the trafficking selector difficulty—and would not the leasing system be a remedy for all the evils attendant upon our land policy? It is seen in South Australia, as we know here, that the practical effect of prohibiting a man from selecting again is to transfer that man and his family to another colony. Federation, or at least co-operative legislation, would soon dispose of the trafficking selector, by limiting his selection to once in any colony, and it would enable the other to be tried on its merits. On this latter subject, those who are enamoured of it would do well to

* Land Office Report, 1874.

inquire into the success of that system—for it was tried—in South Australia. The South Australian Company would not sell but only lease its lands. Look upon those lands held by their tenants, and across the road upon those held by freeholders, and the contrast is so great as to make one pause before inflicting such a system on a colony, certainly unless it were concurrently tried in the other colonies. The Burra Burra Company adopted the same rule, and the result is desolation. Three or four small towns have been established where freeholds could be obtained immediately, outside the estate, and the one within it has been almost extinguished, where leases only prevailed. To remedy this the company has lately consented to sell freeholds in the town. Whatever may be said in favour of the leasing system in theory, practical observations show that an Englishman will go, even at some inconvenience and disadvantage to himself, where he can obtain a freehold, rather than remain where he cannot. What is to be done then, it is said, to obtain for the State the increment of the improved value of the land—if leasing cannot be adopted? The answer is obvious: Taxation. The owner of an unimproved allotment of land in a town lies by until the value of the land has been enhanced, by the increase of population and the making of roads. He then sells, and pockets the whole of the enhanced value, which he has in no way contributed to effect. The man who has improved his allotment not only enhances the value of his own land but also that of his neighbour who has not improved. Yet the latter contributes nothing for the benefit conferred upon him. If a tax were imposed upon him, it would be difficult to contend it would be unfair. And so with the country lands held in large estates, whose value is enhanced by the construction of railways and roads, and the settlement of population about them. The increase of population in the colony provides an increased demand for the meat grown thereon. Apart from that consideration, however, there is another. The State always asserts the right to determine to what uses land shall be applied, and to regulate the condition under which the same may be let to a tenant. The first follows from the fact that the area of land within a state is limited, while the power of amassing personal property is unlimited; and the second follows from the principle that the State has the right, on behalf of the public good, to see that, consistent with a due regard for private rights, the public shall not be deprived of the food, if required, which bountiful nature will

supply if these lands be cultivated. That principle is an old one, and the curiously inclined may refer to several English Acts* when

* 4th of Henry VII. ; 6 Henry VIII., chapter 5 ; 7 Henry VIII., chapter 6 ; and see Froude's History of England, vol. i., chapter 1.

The Statute Law on Depopulation.—"Whereas the strengthe and flourishinge estate of this kingdome hath bene always and is greatly upheld and advanced by the maintenance of the plough and tillage, being the occasion of the increase and multiplyinge of people both for service in the wars, and in tymes of peace—being also a principal meane that people are sett on worke, and thereby withdrawa from ydlenesse, drunkennesse, unlawful games and all other lewd practices and conditions of life ; and whereas by the same means of tillage and husbandrie the greater parte of the subjects are preserved from extreme poverty, in a competent estate and maintenance and means to live, and the wealth of the realme is kept dispersed, and distributed in maine hands where yet is more ready to answer all necessary charges for the service of the realme. And whereas also the said husbandrie and tillage is a cause that the realme doth more stand upon itself without dependinge upon foreigne countries either for bringing in of corne in time of scarcitie, or vent and utterance of our commodities being in over great abundance ; and whereas there have growne many more depopulations, by turning tillage into pasture, than at any time for the like number of years heretofore—the penalty of turning tillage land into pasture is raised from 10 shillings to 20 shillings per acre recoverable at once by whosoever should sue for it." (*Preamble to the 39 Elizabeth, ch. 2.*)

The Common Law on Depopulation.—"In Michaelmas terme 10th Car., upon an information exhibited by His Majestie's Attorney-General against a gentleman of note and worth for depopulation, converting great quantities of land into pasture which formerly had been arable, used to tillage . . . and suffering the farm houses, and their outhouses to be ruined and uninhabited and a water corne mille to decay and go to ruin ; for that it appeared upon evident prooffe that there were many servants and people kept upon those farms when they were used to tillage . . . and for that the defendant had then of late years taken into his owne occupation all the said farmes, and converted all the lands formerly used for tillage into pasture and had also depopulated and pulled downe three of the said farme-houses and suffered the other two to run to ruin and to lye uninhabited . . . Upon grave and deliberate consideration the court did with a joyful consent and opinion declare that the defendant was clearly guilty of said depopulation and conversion of arable land into pasture before expressed and that the same offences were punishable by the common law of this Kingdom, and fit to be severely punished, the rather for that it was a growing evil . . . therefore their lordships did think fit to order, and judge, and decree, that the transgressor should be committed to the Fleet, pay a fine of £4000 to the Crown, acknowledge his offence in open Court at the next County assizes, pay £100 to the informant, the same to the parish minister, £300 to the parish poor, with all the costs of suits, besides repairing the houses, out-houses, and mill, within the span of two years, fit for habitation and use as they were before, and restore the farms to the farm houses, and let and demise the same several farms to several tenants for reasonable rent such as the country would afford, and that all the said lands should be again ploughed up and used to tillage as formerly it had been.—(Depopulation, p. 240.)

The Canon Law on Depopulation.—John Rous, the celebrated monk and antiquary of Warwick, and author of a history of the Kings of England, says that only two

cultivation was imposed by statute under pain of forfeiture. And, as regards terms of letting the land, the Irish Land Act affords a modern illustration, where the landlord is controlled in the manner of letting his own estate, and rights as against him are conferred upon the tenant. The cry in some quarters against the taxation of land is unreasonable and without principle. The confiscation of the property of the rich because they are rich, is as wicked as it is foolish, and happily finds no sympathy with the average Englishman. The taxation of land, to promote its cultivation or secure its being held by the many instead of the few, is a legitimate exercise of legislative authority. The Thelluson Act* was passed in England to prevent the accumulation of vast property in a single hand. That Act prohibits it directly, and if that be allowable it is difficult to contend why it is not also allowable to effect the same object by taxation. The isolated settlements that fringed the southern shores of Australia, each had systems of its own. Gradually they have grown in importance and their people have spread until they join. The comparison of their systems, political, social, or legal, is the first result of an intermixture between the peoples. All had to commence with pastoral pursuits, and one after another, farming, mining and manufacturing interests have grown up. Whether the policy that encourages the removal of the people settled in the country districts, and forces them into the towns instead of facilitating the removal of the excess of population in the towns and settling them in the country districts, is a question that another opportunity must be taken to discuss the merits of. The grazier, whose interest it is to close roads, to buy out settlers, to depopulate neighbouring townships, can scarcely be regarded as beneficial to the public, as the farmer who opens, makes, and maintains roads, encourages settlers, and builds up and supports thriving townships. The Legislature would be abandoning one of its principal duties if it abstained from applying a remedy to such a state of things. If it be lawful and laudable to import emigrants so as to increase our population, how can it be iniquitous to alter the laws that permit and indeed encourage depopulation?

classes of malefactors does the Church deny the right of sanctuary, and benefit of clergy—(Poulter's case ii. Reports 29.)—viz. Public Robbers, and devastators of lands and highways. *Scilicet latronem publicum et devastatorem agrorum et viarum.* Rous' History of England, pp. 88—95.

* 39 and 40 Geo. III., chap. 98.

Every man is no doubt entitled to do what he wishes with his own labor and his own capital. But can he claim the same freedom with respect to land? The labor and capital of a country may be increased to any extent, but its land cannot be expanded a hair's breadth. The State therefore has a right to impose conditions upon the possessors of land, that it would not be justified in doing with respect to labor or capital. A tax upon land would serve two purposes: firstly, to obtain for the State a share of the increment of its improving value, and secondly, to induce the holders of land to use it in a manner that would be most beneficial to the public.

Laws are made for the many, not the few. When the many hold the lands of a State, then the legislation is in perfect harmony with the public wishes. But when the lands of a State are held by the few, the misfit is declared by the few to be unjust, and sometimes they go so far as to call it class legislation. If laws were made to accommodate the few and not the many, then indeed would there be class legislation. Suppose laws were made that encouraged the holding of our rich mines by the few instead of the many, could their continuance be justified—or laws facilitating the acquisition of fractional interest in those mines be condemned as interfering with what is called the "Sacred rights of property"? Surely not. France, by its laws, has secured the general distribution of the land among the people. Of the total number of properties held (5,550,000 in 1875*) 5,000,000 were under six acres; 500,000 averaging 60 acres; and 50,000 averaging 600 acres. And it is a curious fact also "that the national debt has been undergoing a complete subdivision among the population of France, the number of public fundholders having come to approach that of the freeholders of the soil.†" If the exercise of the power be allowable, and the benefit unquestionable, the opposition to the proposal is unreasonable. In this matter, as in others, it would be decidedly advantageous if a tax were also imposed in the other colonies. For there can be no doubt, however necessary and just it may be, its immediate effect will be to proportionately reduce the value of all real property subject to the tax. A reduction in Victoria, not occurring elsewhere, may be unjust towards the then holders of land, and may cause the withdrawal of capital and its investment elsewhere. If the same taxation were imposed in the other colonies then that

* Statesman's Year Book, 1876, page 80.

† Ibid 66,

could not possibly arise. Indeed, united action would effect more than this. New South Wales is selling Riverina to the squatters. It may be because the commerce of that part of its territory goes naturally to Melbourne, and there is no reason why it should be specially cared for. This would be unnecessary if a uniform system existed. The hammer is in full swing in New South Wales, while it is practically hung up in Victoria and South Australia. If there were five banks or five merchants in the same line of business in one city, would they act independently in preference to acting in concert? Yet there are five colonies in Australia; they are in the same line of business, and they do not act in concert, but quite independent of, and sometimes in conflict with each other. Each is trying to get its land settled, to build railways, develop its resources, establish manufactures, promote trade; but they have attempted no common understanding for the purpose of advancing their mutual and similar interests. Even in the administration of the law and the punishment of crime, in which all are deeply interested, and about which there can be no political difficulties, no substantial effort has been made to obtain concerted action. An effort should be made to emerge from this isolation. Steps ought to be taken to promote uniform legislation upon certain subjects; and among them the adoption of concurrent laws, to disqualify professional dummies and traffickers as selectors, to consider the leasing system, and to try it if advisable, and to impose a land tax.

There are other questions, some of which have been referred to, that incidentally affect our land laws, which are as important in themselves, and as difficult to deal with, as the land question itself. However attractive it may be to follow those questions and discuss them, another occasion more fit than this must be taken for that purpose.

JAMES JOSEPH CASEY.

OPTIMISM AND PESSIMISM.

IN reference to this world in which we live—in which we have each a place to fill and a work to do, the feeling that is prevalent in most minds, I suppose, is that it is not the best of all possible worlds, seeing that we can imagine a better, and that it is not the worst of all possible worlds, seeing we can imagine a worse. It is not so good but that it might become better; it is not so bad but that it might be made worse. It is not the best possible world, otherwise we should have no incentive to strive to improve it: it is not the worst, in which case we should simply have no hope for it at all. It forms for us a very good sort of working faith, that the fight between good and evil is so nicely balanced that a good man's life may, in his own sphere, turn the scale in favour of what is righteous, while also, it is to be admitted, an ungodly life may work no end of harm, if it have only influence enough for that purpose. The soul that has learnt to strive only after what is right, that has come to love righteousness simply for the righteousness' sake, has room and scope enough for all its energies in combating the evil and in furthering the good, both of which are there present before it. We may possibly make the world a little better—you and I. Our field is narrow, and our power is small. But if we are in earnest in the accomplishing of the errand upon which we have been sent into the world, we may, each of us, be able to make it a little nobler in consequence of our presence in it, or may keep it, so far as our sphere of activity goes, from becoming any worse. Morality, in fact, just lies in that; there is nothing higher for us as moral creatures to strive after than to make the world we live in somewhat better.

The question whether this world is the best or the worst of all possible worlds is one that has considerably occupied the attention, not merely of philosophers, but of people who were not troubling themselves very much about philosophy. There are times in the lives of all of us when the light of life shines very brightly upon us and we do not feel that there is anything more left for us to desire. What we already possess is meanwhile enough for us. The world is full of delights for us. We are optimists for the time being. We do not want the world to be any brighter or blissfuller than it is. We wish for no clearer azure in the sky, or fairer emerald in the grass. The heart within us has found a resting place. The world

has become a very transfiguration-mount for us: let us build here our tabernacles; here it would be pleasant for us to live; even death itself would be here a *euthanasia*. But anon there come days on us when life has become a burden and a bitterness to us, and storms of trouble sweep across the soul until, like the patriarch of old, we are ready to curse the day of our birth, and to say that a very fearful injustice has been done upon us by the fact that we have ever been born; existence has come to be a source only of pain and grief to us. We have to feel that existence itself, with all its change and unrest, is the very source of all wretchedness, that all the misery of life flows from the mere fact of *existence*, as by a necessary and inevitable law. It would have been better for us if we had never been: would it not be better for us now, if that be still possible for us, that we should cease to be? The only thing that "gives us pause," that starts a new terror for us, is the question whether we, who certainly did not make the beginning for these lives of ours, have the power of making an utter end of them. If we could, why should not we, and so get done with this wild, wicked, wretched imbroglio of *things*, and have *rest* at last for ourselves? *Could* anything be worse for us than things now are? The days are evil and our hearts are sore. The brightness of our life has gone down in a night of gloom and storm. We had our *optimist* dreams once, and they were brilliant and fair; but now we have been shaken awake out of them all, and here is the *pessimistic* reality.

Such contrasts present themselves in all human lives, and I have been more careful to point them out here on the purely *human* ground, as we find them reproducing themselves in all the philosophies, religions, and theologies of the world. For, indeed, it is very evident that the roots of all philosophy and of all religion must be found, after all, just in the ordinary thoughts and feelings of our common humanity. We cannot jump over our own shadow, says the German proverb. Even in the metaphysical regions into which philosophy or theology raises us, we cannot, like Peter Schlemihl, leave our shadow behind us, but must carry that about with us wherever there is only light enough to make it for us. All metaphysical questions, however they may be answered, arise first of all within the common mind of humanity, very earnestly demanding an answer for themselves there.

Is it to be optimism or pessimism with us? Is this the best or is it the worst of all possible worlds—this in which we have found

(or hardly found) a place which we have to fill and a work which we have got to do? No doubt we have, to start with, to meet with those who discard any such question as altogether unscientific and even absurd. Alike, Spinozism in all its revived forms and a pure materialism, scoff at all such enquiries. This is just the only possible world, and where is the use of asking whether it might have been better or worse? All such speculations are vain; and have we not to recall to ourselves the words of Goethe about "*den Kerl der speculirt*" and all the folly of his procedure. *Ein Thier auf dürrer Heide*—that is what *he* is, and hadn't we better leave him, trying to get fat on such puffs of the East wind as may reach him there? Once for all, the world is there just as it is, and you cannot alter or mend it, cannot make it better or worse by any of your thoughts and speculations about it. Everything is determined by fixed and unalterable laws, wherewith there is no power whatever that can interfere. Nothing, therefore, can, or ever could, have been other than it is. The world, as it now is, may be either good or bad—we are not going to discuss that question at all. Its moral character does not concern us; it is there, and it could never have been anything else than it is, and therefore where is the use of speculating as to something better or worse that it might have been? It is simply the only possible world; and the man who dreams of a better or a worse one is doing a very idle thing.

But this idea of the *only possible world* does not seem to fit in with the ordinary feeling of our humanity. We can think—every human creature can think of some other—some better or even some worse world than this; and we are not going to allow any of the sciences that are in vogue to rob us of that power of thinking of the world as something else than it is. And it is something for us that we have philosophers, theologians, and reformers of the most refined types on our side. We have not forgotten, for example, the words that were written for us by one of our deepest, though not always truest, modern English thinkers—Mr. John S. Mill, in one of his posthumous essays regarding the imperfections of the world as it now is, and the conclusions he has ventured to draw from those imperfections. There is, he admits, an author of the world, but that *world-Producer* must be limited in power and probably also in wisdom, otherwise the world would have been able to produce much more in the way of happiness for its inhabitants than at present it seems capable of doing. The Maker of the world, if He had been the Infinite Being, in point of might, and of mercy, and of wisdom,

that the theologians represent Him as being, ought to have made a better world. But He *could* not, and therefore His power must be limited. To which we have to answer, Who and what was it that limited His power? There is on that supposition some greater power than that which has made and which governs the world. God is not in that case "over all." There is something that is *over Him*, that was capable of setting bounds to Him and to all His working—a higher God in fact. It is not a supposition to which we can give any assent.

When we turn to the various religions of the world, we find in some of them the *optimistic* and in others the *pessimistic* view of things prevailing. What, for example, could be brighter and more beautiful than the representation which the Greek mind had made to itself of the world, and of the powers that rule over it? Hellenism—the religion of Greece—has still its attractions for poetic minds. Modern poetry is full of reproductions of Hellenic sentiment—Phœbus with his silver bow; Aphrodite rising in all the glory of her dazzling beauty from the Salt Sea foam; Bacchus smiling from amid his vine-leaves; and Athene teaching wisdom to those who will give ear to her, with Zeus as Father of gods and men over all. The Greek Olympus, it is to be admitted, presents to us a very charming picture indeed, and the object of the worshippers was to become as beautiful and as happy as the Olympians themselves. No doubt there was always a dark shadow of Fate lurking behind all the brightness; but *endaemonism*, the enjoyment and the glorification of existing things, the finding of points of contact with that which was divine in the home or the hills, in the forest or the stream, formed the very essence of the Hellenic religion.

But what a different conception of things it is that is exhibited to us in the Indian religions, especially in that of Buddha. Buddhism means, we may say, a state of feud with things as they are, just as Hellenism means the happy enjoyment of them. For Sakhya Muni and his followers, who at this moment number more than the fourth part of the inhabitants of this poor planet of ours—the fact of existence in such a world as this has seemed to be a thing productive only of misery and care. *Existence* itself must necessarily mean trouble. Why should we concern ourselves about that, beyond just bearing the inevitable meanwhile in the hope of getting away out into that blank *Nirvana* bye-and-bye, when all the things that vex us now shall be unknown, when thought or no thought, will or no will, feeling or no feeling, existence or non-existence, shall be all

matters of supreme indifference? It is a diseased world we live in, and the mere living in it means suffering and pain more or less, and it does not matter very much whether we *have* more or less of the trouble that is going. The trouble itself is the necessary quality of existence—which is not possible without it. To get quit of existence and its change and unrest, and get absorbed into mere Infinite Being, seems to have come to be the supreme thing for Buddhism.

All the religions of the world are found oscillating between the two extremes that we have indicated. The one *via media*, so far as religion is concerned, seems to have been found in Christianity—the religion whose controversy with “the world” is of even more serious character than the Buddhistic one, and yet whose enjoyment of the world, as a thing loved by God and saved by Christ, reaches into altitudes of spiritual blessedness never dreamt of in the Hellenic *cultus*. The contradiction, no doubt, is still there; but then the *reconciliation* is there too. Pessimism and optimism alike found their highest expression in the religion that has come from Jesus of Nazareth; but the pessimism has been saved from its despair, and the optimism has been cleansed from its impurity.

But in this present paper we have to do with the antagonism that has been indicated, mainly in its *philosophic* manifestations. Philosophy has to do with the questions, what is the world? and what am *I* in the world? The *I* and the not *I*, ego and non-ego, subject and object, and all the relations which exist or which may be established between these two must ever form the root and ground of all philosophic speculation. In the interpretation of the *non-ego*, philosophy may indeed or even must beyond forced by the world of seen and temporal things, and be driven over, though may be against her will, into theological regions where she has to lay her hand on her mouth and worship in silence without speculating any more in speech. For evermore, when human search and human thought have exhausted themselves, there lies the Infinite *Beyond*, into which the foot of man cannot enter, within which human thought itself can hardly penetrate. What is it that lies concealed behind that veil that separates the seen from the unseen, the Temporal from the Eternal? What can we know? How can we tell? The *ego* is wonderful enough—has mysteries in itself that we cannot fully read. The *non-ego* becomes, the further we follow it, altogether incomprehensible.

But even the more comprehensible part of that *non-ego*, of that which is *not I*, which is different from *me*,—the world namely as it

is, and as I can become more or less acquainted with by it my senses or by all the reflecting power that is in me whereby I judge of what the senses have reported to me: even that has its problems to set for me which I find it hard or all but impossible for me to solve. What am I to make of that world into which I have been brought? How far indeed am I to think of it as a thing independent of myself? I *see* it: but was it I with my power of sight or *it* with some supposed power of *visibility* that made it a thing *seen*. I speculate and make my conclusions as to what it is: but have my speculations and conclusions any existence save only in my own mind? What right have I to think of the world, if indeed there be any world at all, as being just the thing that I see or that I think about? If I were blind, then there should be, so far as I am concerned, no beauty in the earth or sky or in the human form. If I were deaf, there would be no sweetness in music, no power of persuasion in the voice. For me the world is just what I can make it for myself. I can know of it only as something inside myself. As a thing outside of me, I can know nothing of it whatever. "*Die Welt ist meine Vorstellung*," the world is as I represent it to myself, says Schopenhauer, who, *so far*, is not by any means singular among modern philosophers.

But whatever we may make of our own impressions, or ideas, or sensations concerning the world, however little in fact we can understand what the world *is in itself*, we must remain contented with the knowledge of what it *appears* to us, and must still admit the existence of something outside ourselves, something that is not we, that acts upon and is acted upon by us, that forces itself upon us by that thousandfold complexity of impression that it can make on us. There could not be the impressions unless there were something that had the power of impressing. The great problem of philosophy is just to find out what is the exact state of the case between the *me* that sees and feels and thinks, and the world—the not-me, that is seen and felt and thought about. And most of all there is in connection with the world, that grand problem of causation and all the changes that spring from that. Everything that we see or know is an effect; has sprung, that is, from some cause, which itself was begotten of another cause, and so on backwards *ad infinitum*. And the question remains, what is the *infinitum* to which all the process of causation leads us back? It seems after all very much to come to that of it. Pious souls have always clung to the belief of an Infinite, self-existent, self-determining, "First Cause," without *whom* no causation could be possible, around whose throne all the chains of

cause and effect, effect and cause, are hung—whose will is the one source of *things*. But there are those who reject such a notion as unphilosophic. We can find plenty of causes, and where we can find no more, we can imagine others. The one idea we need to hold by is that of *force* as giving its proper value to causation. There is a wonderful, an infinite amount of force in the world: we cannot indeed imagine the world as existing without force. If we dare to make any enquiry as to where the force came from, as to who or what was the proper parent of it, we are met for the most part with a “stony stare” of wonder at our obtuseness, as if our question were a banality, an impertinence, unfit for the consideration of the philosophic, the scientific mind. What do we want? Force is force, and matter is there to be operated upon by this force. And there is nothing more to think about.

But the world itself. What can it offer us? What can it do to further us on the way we want to go? Does it stand there as a thing meant, so far as a changeful, unrestful, and oftentimes deceitful world can do, to contribute to our happiness? Or on the other hand, does it not seem as if it were arranged on quite the other principle of producing for us the greatest possible amount of misery? When we think of our connection with the world only *as* world, it is to be admitted that the prospects of the optimist, *endaemonistic* view don't seem by any means too hopeful. The world, too evidently, is not constructed on the “greatest happiness” principle at all. If *that* is what we have been expecting from *the world*, it is very certain that we shall never get it. There have been philosophers indeed who have made it a prominent part of their teaching that this is “the best of all possible worlds.” Did not the German sage Leibnitz, after having exhausted the most of his philosophic power in the exposition of those marvellous “monadological” theories of his, betake himself, in his older days, to that equally marvellous *Theodicee* of his, in which he sought to show that things here below were on the whole as good as could be. From the Deistic point of view, Leibnitz sought to show that the Maker of the world had done the best He could by the world He had made. Out of an infinite number of possible worlds that were present before His infinite mind, He had selected the best possible. If it was to be *world* at all, *i.e.*, a thing bounded by conditions of space, time, and what we call generally cause and effect, it could not have been any better than it is. There is misery in it no doubt—quite enough of misery and of sin. But God Himself, if He *was* to make a world, could not have found out

a better. The sublime philosopher, who was striving to be as orthodox as he could in his old days, in order to satisfy the requirements of his own kindly old heart and also those of certain noble, even royal ladies, of the Prussian-Hanoverian breed, sought to *justify* God in that rather questionable method. In point of logic, Leibnitz's "Theodicee" is not held to be the chief production of that German philosopher—the Maker of the world not standing in need, so far as I know, of any such Leibnitzian justification at all.

It is of course very easy to sneer at the well-meant efforts of Leibnitz to establish his theory of "the best of all possible worlds;" to ask, if this was the best, what then the worst of all that infinite number could have been; or to suggest that it must have been an awful source of distress to the Maker, that among all possible worlds that He might have made there could be found no better one than this, that amid all the possibilities of Creatorship, this was just the utmost that could be attained. We do not wonder that Mr. Mill and others have ventured to tell us that God must be not infinite after all, but limited in point of wisdom or of power, if he could produce no better world than this. There is much evil in the world. If evil was necessary, could there not have been less of it than there is now? Was it not possible that there should have been less misery and more happiness than there now is. But we have still to ask how that could have been? We can turn round on those who have so much to tell us of the inevitable, immutable nature of the laws which regulate the world, and who, in the next breath, are prepared to tell us that the world is very much out of joint and needs to be rectified and amended in a large number of particulars, and ask which of the two things is it to be. You tell us that the world cannot be better because of those fixed laws that determine its whole course, and yet at the same time that it *ought* to be better because there is so much of wickedness and wretchedness in it. The two things are not in the least consistent with each other. Till this contradiction is removed, till these two opposing statements are reconciled, we may have reason to believe that old Leibnitz, with his doctrines of "pre-established harmonies" and "best of all possible worlds," was not so desperately out in his reckoning after all. If the idea of a *world*, a thing that means change, unrest, development, things passing continually from one state of being into another, has come to be fairly apprehended by us, then we cannot fail to see that many of the changes that come must be productive of trouble, that sorrow must have its place in the world

just as surely as gladness, that amid temporal things misery must find a place for itself just as surely as merriment. *Could* the world, simply as world, have been any better than it is? We cannot tell. It may be in our power to imagine a better, but when we inquire how that better world of our imagination could have been realised, then we are helpless. Judging according to the possibility of things, as that is so largely expounded to us in these days, what other thing could have been brought into being than just what is already there? And especially when the moral element is presented to our contemplation and we have to do with *will*, especially as it feels itself, in the person of moral agents, to be a *free* thing, left at liberty to judge for itself of that which is most agreeable to it, we have to ask how it is possible to exclude the necessity of sin and of all the misery that follows upon that. If there were to be well-regulated laws for the physical world, and at the same time freedom of choice and of will for man, we have to ask how the world could have been any better. Perhaps we shall have to conclude that if it had been left to itself it would have been infinitely worse. But, on the other hand, we have had, in these modern days, a philosophy of quite an opposite type, declaring to us that the world could not possibly be any *worse* than it is. It is some twenty-three years since the name of Arthur Schopenhauer was introduced to the notice of English readers, although his great work "*Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*," had been produced more than thirty years before then (A.D. 1818). Schopenhauer's philosophy, which was so long neglected in its native country, is at present getting to a greater prominence than it ever enjoyed in the lifetime of its author, principally through the work of its latest and greatest disciple—the "*Philosophie des Unbewussten*" (Philosophy of the Unconscious) of Dr. Hartmann. Hartmann gets the credit of being an original thinker, although I have not been able to discover that he has travelled very far in the way of original thought beyond the teaching of his master. Schopenhauer's idea of the world is certainly somewhat peculiar. Starting from the standpoint of the Kantian philosophy, and carrying the stern logic of the "*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*" to conclusions that Kant never dreamt of, Schopenhauer has given us such a representation of *the world* that we can have very little hope of it at all. It is nothing but a delusion, according to this philosopher. The idea of a *First Cause*—who has made, and who is caring for, the world—meets only with a sublime scorn from him. The only deity that he takes any cognisance of, whom he regards with any sort of awe, is

the Indian goddess Maya (deceit); and she and her veil form very prominent features in his philosophy, which, in fact, has all through far more of an Indian than of a European character. No man knows what the world is—what, we may say, it is up to. For me it is only what I am able to imagine it forth (*vorstellen*) to myself. But it is cheating me at every turn. Its deceptive shams and shows for the most part only mislead me, produce for me misery when I was looking for enjoyment. I am mocked by unreal appearances. In the most literal sense I am “walking in a vain show.” The world is nothing but a Maya’s veil, and she who lurks behind it is the goddess of *fraud*—“Trust her not; she is fooling thee.” His protest against the world and its appearances is a very vehement one. There is no end to his rage over it, and especially over all those philosophers of a more optimistic view, who would seek to look upon it with favour.

Schopenhauer professed to have found out the secret of the world. He was excessively impatient of all who disagreed with him. The leading philosophers of his time—Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, were denounced by him as sophists and charlatans, playing with views that had no meaning in them, building philosophic schemes into air-castles upon nothing. There is a certain nobleness in the way in which he, *sui plenius*, threw from him all the paths to academical or other advancement, and shut himself up in his own stern, misanthropic loneliness, a modern Diogenes, whose tub, fortunately, was of rather larger dimensions than that of the ancient one. He might have been even a modern John Baptist if he had had the free air of a modern desert—even of the Lüneburger-Heide, to play around his lungs and to infuse a greater amount of oxygen into his blood, instead of shutting himself up in his garret in Berlin or Frankfort, where he could not even agree with his washerwoman. That his philosophy is largely due to his own quarrel with the world, to the dark shadows of a private and also of a public kind, which hung over the time when his mind was growing to its maturity, any one who has made acquaintance with his life must acknowledge. He reminds us of the noble but morbid and self-devouring autobiographer in Mr. Tennyson’s “Maud,” with the same dark memory of a father for whom life had come to be a burden too heavy to be borne by him any more, only with the additional disadvantage that he had a somewhat foolish mother who wrote silly novels and flirted her life out at one or another of the small courts of Germany, with whom he could not live; and also apparently,

that no such type of pure young womanhood as Maud had ever presented itself to him. Arthur Schopenhauer never knew a *home*, and his philosophy bears the impress of his own homelessness.

It was in the year 1818 that Schopenhauer's *magnum opus* appeared. It created no sensation at the time. Goethe, who had known the author as a lad, had a few complimentary words to say about it, though it may be questioned whether Goethe gave himself much trouble in the reading of it. But the world took small notice of the book. It was a good quarter of a century, when the author was getting to be an old man (A.D. 1844), before a second edition was called for; after which only it came into some sort of notoriety. And now, under Hartmann and others, the Schopenhauerian philosophy seems rather to be coming to the front, other philosophies being in rather a weakly condition just at present.

What is here to be said of the way in which Schopenhauer has reached his pessimistic conclusions, must be of the briefest. What he has to tell us of the world as *Vorstellung* we may at present pass over as for the most part a mere exhibition of the idealism of Berkeley run somewhat wild deckt in an Indian dress—Maya's veil and so forth. The world is as I set it forth (*vorstellen*) to myself, and what more can I know? But the great feature in Schopenhauer's teaching is that the world is—*Will*; not certainly the will of God, which, according to the theologians (for whom Schopenhauer has no favour) has made and directs the world, but a universally diffused will inherent in the world itself, forming the life of the world. That is to be taken as the universal force that governs all others, of which all others, from gravitation upwards, are the modification. Those ordinary mortals who have been in the custom of regarding the will as springing from consciousness, from thought, are all in error. The ripe apple that falls to the ground performs that feat by means of will just as surely as the hero of a hundred fights does his when he bids his bugles blow and orders his battalions on into the thick of the battle-storm, or as Schopenhauer himself did his when he told his publisher to send his book forth upon the world. But then that universally diffused will becomes, in its several individual manifestations, a mere egotistic, selfish thing, a wretched "*Wille zum Leben*"—will to live. It is so all through. Even the apple falling wills for its own preservation, the help of the ground. Certain kinds of matter crystallize themselves because their "will to live" has discovered—how, we are not told—that they will be stronger in that form. Then in organic, most of all in animal life we see how the feeling of hunger, which means

again the wish after life, has objectified itself, as, *e.g.*, among the *vertebrata* in tooth and palate, in stomach and ducts and so forth. And then in man this *will* has reached its highest development, has for the supply of its necessity, produced consciousness, a brain and a nervous system and the thing that we call reason. The whole world means need that cannot satisfy itself, hunger that cannot make bread enough for itself—makes as much as it can and then starves for want of more—a “will to live,” while life itself is only a delusion and a snare.

This universally diffused *will* finds its highest development in the brain (in that which he regards as his brain) of man. But in the consciousness and the thought that are produced there things get worse than ever. According to the *Vorstellung* part of the theory, the will that has grown to consciousness in us cannot tell where our head is. The head is somewhere—we idly fancy we know *where*—in space, but at the same time space is only in the head. The individual head, the individual mind, cannot at all properly find *itself* in the world. It is always trying to do so; and it is just in that fact, according to Schopenhauer, that all the mischief lies. The individual must be as the first thing, *affirming* that will to live which lies at the root of his being. He must look to himself, must maintain and enjoy his existence, whatever may come of other existences and individualities. The individual, just because he is an individual, must be egoistic, but the individual cannot attain to the end of his being, just because of his egoism. He lives in a delusion, seeing, with all his force and fancied freedom of will, he is after all only serving the purpose of a wider will than his own. He is only an empty form of life in spite of all his egoism, and must annihilate himself in some way in the end to carry out the universal will. But then the world is made up of individuals, and there is nothing but pain and want for each of them. The will that is in each cannot satisfy itself. Existence must mean only suffering—pain, wants that are unsatisfied, longings for which the whole world has no response. While we live and strive, there must be grief for us. The unaccomplished desire means pain, and the accomplished one means *ennui*. What good is there in existence? Will makes the world, according to this philosophy, and at the same time will means unrest, want, pain. It is not an accident at all; it is of the very essence of the world, with its universal distribution of conscious or of unconscious *will*, that it produces misery for us. It is the *worst* of all possible worlds.

But is there to be no help, no redemption? Our philosopher finds the *end* of the spiritual life in the abnegation of the will (*Verneinung des Willens*), even as he had found the beginning of it in the affirmation (*Bejahung*) of the will. I have not been able to discover from what source Schopenhauer has been able to fetch this new will-renouncing power, after he had told us that the whole world was will. The will of man must, one would say, be rather active in the act of renunciation that our philosopher demands of us, never more active surely than just then. It is the will renouncing itself, declaring itself to be a nullity. The thing does not by any means seem possible. A will at the same moment renouncing and renounced, seems to be a contradiction in terms. When we hear of self-abnegation as the highest principle in ethics, we have to ask, as the first thing, whether the self that abnegates is just the same self that is abnegated. Schopenhauer does not seem to have any sufficient answer to that question; we must seek for the proper answer elsewhere than in his philosophy. And therefore his *Verneinung des Willens* wants any true holding-point in our lives, with whatever high-sounding or even noble words he may speak about it. The whole ends, according to Schopenhauer's own confession, in—nothing. It is that which is the goal that we are to strive after. The very Indian Nirvāna itself, with its absorption into the Infinite, the true BEING in which all cares and changes of *existence* disappear, is not enough for this philosopher of despair. The world can provide nothing hereafter for those who remain full of their own egoistic *will*. And meanwhile, “even for those in whom the will has changed and denied itself, this our so *real* world, with all its suns and galaxies, is—nothing.” The question seems to be whether we shall accept of our *nichts*—our nothing—now, which is the philosophic course, or wait for it, till our unquiet wills shall in the course of things have had to bring themselves to final pause. The last word that this philosophy has to say to us is—*nichts*.

Yet surely the *Verneinung* itself has a great truth in it. We had however heard of it before. Another teacher had spoken to us of the necessity of self-denial, the renunciation of self. But he could do that, because He could tell us of another and nobler will than ours, in which ours could lose itself, the will of a Father in Heaven. The Christian self-denial ends in the Infinite Love: the Schopenhauerian ends in the Infinite Nothing. There is a considerable difference, I think, between the two.

WILLIAM HENDERSON.

MENTAL DISEASE AND MODERN CIVILISATION.

"Ours is so far advanced an age !
Sensation-tales, a classic stage,
Commodious villas !
We boast high Art, an Albert Hall,
Australian meat, and men who call
Their sires gorillas !
We have a thousand things, you see,
Not dreamt in your philosophy !
Science proceeds and man stands still,
Our 'world' to-day's as good or ill
As cultured (nearly)
As yours was, Horace."

Who is there that needs to be told how great are the blessings of modern civilisation ? Have not historian, poet, and philosopher vied with each other in setting them forth, so that now-a-days any schoolboy can run up a catalogue of them as glibly as his multiplication table ? He who now-a-days would attempt the rôle of *laudator temporis acti* must expect to be considered an anachronism, and a fitting object of ridicule and jest. How much do we excel our fathers, not to say our grandfathers, morally, intellectually and physically ? "Are we not bigger, better, wiser, more long-lived, more everything that is admirable than our ancestors ?" Has it not fallen to our lot—Oh wonderful generation!—to discover that virtue and vice are but mere matters of proper or improper housing, feeding and clothing ?

A somewhat boastful habit may indeed have been begotten in describing our own wonderful progress, but in all seriousness it would be difficult to exaggerate the benefits, in many respects, of our modern civilisation. On no other generation as on ours has science poured her treasures in such profusion. It is no dream of the future, but an accomplished fact, that she has all but extinguished some diseases, which in a not very remote past made fearful havoc, has greatly mitigated the severity of others, has discovered wonderful anodynes, has extended by several years the average lifetime of Englishmen, has brought within the reach, not of the few, but of the many, not only the conveniences and comforts, but even the luxuries of life,—the working man of 1876 having the enjoyment of luxuries which in 1800 were hardly procurable by the wealthy—and has given us in this century the steam engine and the electric telegraph with their numberless applications.

The whole science of living has, in fact, been revolutionised. Such has been the progress of scientific discovery that a sort of credulity has been begotten in the popular mind as to its possibilities, and nothing, not even journeys to the moon or under the sea, seem too wonderful to be believed.

But, unfortunately, the really grand results of our civilisation are not unmingled blessings. Side by side with each stands its corresponding bane, or at least its drawback. Along with new facilities for the acquisition of enormous wealth, comes an enormous increase of poverty and crime. With our culture and refinement there advances a barbarism and heathenism amongst the masses. With our facilities of travel come dangers new and terrible. With our immunity from some classes of diseases, come upon us a very marked increase of others. I refer to diseases of the nervous system and especially of the brain, "insanity." "There seems good reason," says Maudsley (*Physiology and Pathology of the Mind*, p. 229), "to believe that with the progress of mental development, through the ages, there is a correlative degeneration going on, and that an increase of insanity is a penalty which an increase of our civilisation necessarily pays."

Is insanity increasing? is a question often anxiously asked. If it is increasing at a very rapid rate, it can hardly be regarded in any other light than a symptom of coming national decadence. We shall be compelled to admit that the civilisation of which we are so vain has been a failure just in that respect in which we deem ourselves superior to all other nations and to all former civilisations, *i. e.*, our intellectual culture. Other civilisations have flourished quite as much, and perhaps more, than ours, have culminated and been swallowed up by the surrounding barbarisms, just at a point corresponding to that which we seem to have reached. They have dated their decay exactly from the period when the arts of life had attained their maximum. To break down, as it were, in the hour of our greatest triumph, and at what we considered our most strongly guarded point, would be so similar and complete a historical parallel, that it might lead us to suspect that the Nemesis of some violated law was about to overtake ourselves, as it had overtaken them.

But to the question: "Is insanity increasing in our generation?" Different ages have had different diseases peculiar to them. To our age confessedly belongs that of the nervous system, and of its chief organ, the brain. This class of disease is one essentially of civilisation, and of our own generation pre-eminently. Insanity has been

increasing during the last twenty-five years, in all civilised countries of which we have records, and the increase has been in direct correspondence to the degree of civilization attained. To prove these assertions, I shall adduce such statistics as I have been able to procure. I could have wished them fuller, but such as they are, they will, I think, bear out my statements.

The subjoined table shows the ratio per 1000 of lunatics to the population in England and in Victoria for the last 15 years:—

ENGLAND.			VICTORIA.		Ratio per 1000 of Insane to the Population.	
Year.	Population.	Number Insane.	Population.	Number Insane.	In England	In Victoria.
1861...	20,119,314	39,647	541,800	702	1·97	1·29
1862...	20,336,467	41,129	555,744	750	2·02	1·34
1863...	20,554,137	43,118	574,331	856	2·09	1·49
1864...	20,772,308	44,795	606,501	1001	2·15	1·65
1865...	20,990,964	45,950	626,639	1052	2·18	1·67
1866...	21,210,020	47,648	643,912	1189	2·24	1·84
1867...	21,429,508	49,086	659,897	1280	2·29	1·93
1868...	21,649,377	51,000	684,316	1556	2·35	2·27
1869...	21,869,607	51,177	710,317	1705	2·43	2·40
1870...	22,090,163	54,713	726,599	1849	2·47	2·54
1871...	22,704,108	56,755	752,287	2037	2·49	2·70
1872...	23,074,600	58,640	769,558	2263	2·54	2·94
1873...	23,356,414	60,296	791,038	2346	2·58	2·96
1874...	23,648,609	62,027	807,756	2458	2·62	3·04
1875...	23,944,459	63,793	823,272	2557	2·66	3·10*

That which is most remarkable in the above table is the steady increase without any interruption, not only in the numbers of the insane, but in the ratio of the insane to the general population. Taking an average of the last 15 years, there has been in England an annual increment to the insane of 1,700, while the ratio of the insane per 1000, to the general population, has risen from 1·97 in 1861 to 2·66 in 1875. In Victoria during the same period there has been an annual increment of 100 and a rise in the ratio from 1·29 in 1861 to 3·10 in 1875. (The seemingly greater rise in the Victorian as compared with the English ratio will be accounted for in a subsequent part of this paper.) But neither England nor Victoria are singular in their increased insanity. From all civilised countries comes the same tale. In every country new asylums are being demanded and speedily filled. So that the increase of insanity can hardly be gainsaid.

The foregoing figures seem to show an unmistakable and steady increase of insanity in England and in Victoria. Only part of this

* Compiled from the Report of the Inspector of Victorian Hospitals for the Insane, 1875, and that of the English Lunacy Commissioners, 1875.

is however genuine, the great part is apparent. For in England up to 1843, large numbers of the insane were kept in private dwellings with their relatives, but as much cruelty and neglect arose out of such a practice, a law was in that year enacted that all lunatics should be sent to public or private asylums, or licensed houses. From that date there was, in consequence, a very large influx of patients to the asylums, but it was only the apparent and not the real number that was thus increased. About 1859, a second influx took place owing to the burden of the maintenance of lunatics being taken from individual parties and thrown on a "Union." The parishes in order to get rid of their paupers strained the term *insane*, and made it include many who were formerly in their workhouses.

But in Victoria, as well as in England, the increase in the number of insane is far more apparent than real. Not only is there no tendency to retain patients as long as possible in the care of their relatives, but on the contrary, "almost every person whose brain is affected in any degree is sent into an asylum."* The term "insane" is a very comprehensive one in Victoria, being made to include idiots and imbeciles of all degrees. But moreover, till within two years ago, not only persons suffering from delirium tremens, but also from *mania e potu* (in popular phrase, "fighting drunk,") were sent into lunatic asylums. This is now by law prohibited. But our asylum population is still to a large extent composed of those who are beginning to suffer from mere senile dementia, and who in England would even at the present time find their place in the poorhouses. Supposing there are 400† such imbeciles in all the Victorian asylums, this number would be about a sixth part of our insane, who at the end of last year numbered 2557. If this number be deducted from the total—and as will presently appear a much higher figure is warranted—the Victorian and English ratio of insane to population at the end of 1875 would be almost identical, viz., 2.62 and 2.66 per 1000, respectively. But it is a standing subject of complaint with the English Lunacy Commissioners, that there are still a large number of insane in England living unregistered, with friends; and as no such thing is known in Victoria, the Victorian ratio would be then much lower than the English. The figures then in reality lend no countenance to alarmists on the subject of insanity.

One would *a priori* suppose, that between a newly settled country

* Report of the Acting Inspector of Hospitals for Insane, 1873, p. 9.

† An approximate estimate. Inspector's Report, 1872, p. 8.

like Victoria, and one like England densely peopled for centuries, there could not fail to be differences in the number of their insane. In this colony, with a climate less severe, with less of a struggle for the means of living, and as yet with a greater abundance of the necessaries, even of the luxuries of life, and as a consequence, with less harassment; with a population recently recruited from the flower of England, enjoying even in cities, wide streets, open spaces and public parks—I say with such conditions, all tending to promote rude health and to prevent insanity, there should be less of it here than in England. Add to this that the bulk of the emigrants coming to Victoria were the young, strong, and robust, the insane members of a family would be left behind in the old country.

On the other hand, we have in a new climate and under new circumstances, maintained all too faithfully the modes of life, habits of eating and drinking, &c., which we ought to have modified. It must be plain to any ordinary observer to what turns of the wheel of fortune a man in Victoria has been and still is liable. One day he may have the prospect, or be in actual possession, of great wealth, and the next all but penniless. There is attendant, on the life of our mining population especially, a constant restlessness and unsettledness, the prospect of making wealth *per saltum*, or of continued hardship in its pursuit all cause excitement or depression. Many for want of the counsel and sympathy of friends, which would have been gladly given in their native land, take, in a sort of despair, to courses which bring swift ruin of body and mind. Among the throng of immigrants attracted by the discovery of our gold fields, there would doubtless be a large proportion of the unstable, the flighty, and the over-sanguine; a class of persons possessing a temperament closely allied to the insane, and in whom sudden success or failure would almost to a certainty develop insanity. And Victoria has entered the period when these conditions begin to tell, for it is not in youth that any tendency to insanity generally manifests itself; it is when men have reached the period of life in which they are subjected to the wear and tear of struggle and competition, that the nervous system gives way, and that insanity supervenes. Such are some of the causes that make the Victorian ratio approach the English, and in both countries the numbers of insane seem greater than in reality they are.

But what has taken place in England has taken place to a greater or less extent not only in Scotland, Ireland, and America, but also on the Continent of Europe. Our increasing civilisation has at least

rendered us more humane. Every nation now-a-days with any pretension to civilisation, readily admits the claim of its insane to medical treatment with a view to cure; to protection from the neglect and cruelties almost inseparable from concealment in private houses in the care of unsuitable attendants; and to have, even if they be not cured, their lives made as tranquil, secure, and happy as possible. The prolongation of life in those who have been brought under proper care, as well as many other causes, which I cannot here notice, have added still further to this *apparent* increase.

But though the increase in the number of insane both in Victoria and England be more apparent than real, it can hardly be doubted that some part of it is real. For in England the law prohibiting the maintenance of the insane in private houses has been in operation for thirty years, and that taking the burden of maintenance of pauper lunatics from parishes and throwing it on "Unions"—the two great causes of an influx of patients to asylums, yet the ratio to the population has gone on increasing steadily; whereas if there were no real increase, the influx ought to have been merely temporary. In Victoria, too, there seems a genuine increase, for though during the last five years* there has been a decrease in the number of admissions in proportion to the population—a most hopeful sign. Yet, taking even this lower rate, there would still be a margin left to indicate the direction of the tide, so to speak. One would with more certainty believe in the decrease continuing, were it not that everywhere else insanity is on the increase even now. There may be ebbs and flows in the tide, but it is unmistakably advancing if any credit is to be attached to statistics.

Confirmatory of the position I take up, is the fact that in one day there is a decided increase of all diseases of the nervous system and of the nervous element in ordinary maladies.

It is easy to demonstrate the increase of insanity, since the insane in a community are duly registered. It is less easy to prove the increase of disease of the nervous system which may possibly never terminate in insanity. Contemporary medical literature, however, bears ample testimony to the fact that paralysis, epilepsy, neuralgia, hysteria, and anæmia—all of nervous origin—are markedly on the increase, and that in many diseases of the type known as inflammatory, a marked failure of nerve-power has of late years manifested itself. The observation of this fact has originated the expressions—"The change of type in disease," "nervous" or "low" fevers, and

* Report of Inspector of Hospitals for Insane, Victoria, 1875.

"low" forms of inflammation of various organs. Reference to recent medical works will convince the most sceptical of these facts. It is only reasonable to suppose that if diseases of the nervous system are on the increase, the portion of that system which is always affected in mental disease, viz., the brain, will not escape its share. Many other signs that not only individuals, but communities are in a condition of unstable equilibrium of nerve, may be seen in the epidemics of suicide and convulsions of religiousness which prevail from time to time.

If insanity and diseases of enervation are on the increase in our time, there must be special influences at work on this generation tending to produce them. Given certain consequents, and you can certainly predicate certain antecedents. In any particular case of insanity, it is a very easy matter to put down a vice such as drunkenness or some course of conduct as the cause; but the more that the history of cases is examined into, the clearer does it become that in general there has been a combination of causes co-operating to the result. I propose to notice briefly a few of those influences which are at work on this age tending to produce the raw material out of which lunatics are made; in other words, some of the remote causes of insanity. It may be stated as a first principle, that whatever influence is prejudicial to mind or body tends to produce insanity directly or indirectly; that disease is one, and that its causes whether affecting mind or body are very much the same. If, therefore, among any people or in any country there prevail special influences acting prejudicially on the health, in that country will insanity predominate.

The greatest of such influences of a general kind came into operation with the discovery of the steam-engine. This it is that has quickened the pace and agitated the mind of this century. Following upon and induced by its introduction, came an era of excitement political, financial, and social, perhaps unprecedented in the history of the world. Is there any part of our globe which the effect of the discovery of steam has not touched, any class of the community whose circumstances have not been all but revolutionised by it? It has been well said that "richer and more prolific discoveries have been made, grander achievements have been realised in the 50 or 70 years of our life-times, than in all the previous life-times of our race since states, nations, and politics, such as nature makes us acquainted with, have had their being."*

*Greg's *Enigmas of Life* (p. 26).

indirectly due to the discovery of steam? Such discoveries affording as they do, cause of excitement in themselves, increase that excitement a hundred fold by the opening up of avenues into new fields of industry and enterprise. Is there not an increase in the indulgence in strong drink and tobacco, and habits of luxury generally which are carried on by the masses? Is there not a tendency everywhere for the multitudes to concentrate into large towns and cities, where, in our present ignorance and carelessness of sanitary laws, healthy development is impossible? Was there ever an age in which there was the same craving for speculation and gambling, in which men pursued pleasure and all that ministers to the enjoyment of the senses, with such *abandon*? Did men ever before so concentrate their efforts on their businesses and professions? Could it be expected that with all the influences that tend to excite the hopes, the fears, the passions of men, that all but necessitate extraordinary intellectual efforts, great anxiety and an atmosphere of excitement—could it be expected, I say, that with all these influences operating on them as upon no previous generation, the brain and nervous system should not more frequently than in former days give way?

But I proceed to single out and examine a few of the enervating influences operating on this our age. I notice—(1.) Our mode of work. Ours is pre-eminently an age of brain-work. The discovery of the steam-engine, with its almost limitless appliances, has relieved the workman of to-day from a vast amount of severe physical labour. Where formerly he would have had to exercise his muscles in actually performing work, he has now rather to exercise his brain in superintending the steam-driven machine. It is brain-work that is the tax on our eager professional and business men. Some find it difficult to believe that the exercise of the brain deserves the name of work, in the same sense as mere physical exercise does. And yet the physiologist can demonstrate that after severe mental effort there is found in the effete matter of the body the *debris* of brain substance, just as after much muscular exercise the *debris* of muscle. The act of thinking, then, it appears, involves the loss of brain-tissue just as much as physical exercise the loss of muscular tissue.

But while deprecating excessive brain-work I would at the same time recognise the fact that within certain limits the more that the brain and spinal cord, as well as the muscles, are called into exercise the stronger do they become. The brain was evidently

made for work ; it is a very powerful force-producing machine—an engine, as physiologists say—of many horse-power. Mere drones, therefore, who, on account of some solid brain-work falling to their share, fancy themselves a sort of slaves or martyrs, deserve no sympathy. The work accomplished by our judges, barristers, and leading professional men, and especially by press-men, would appear to some all but incredible, yet it is but a small quota of insane that is derived from these classes. This proves unmistakably that it is not solid brain-work in itself that is a cause of insanity. It is rather that sort of work that is accompanied with harassment, anxiety, uncertainty, great risk and responsibility, that is chiefly the bringer of mental disease. How largely all these elements enter into work of all kinds in this age. How keen is the competition in every business and profession ! How closely every avenue to place and power is crowded ! What a headlong neck-or-nothing race must be run to secure success or even avoid failure ! How all the influences that appeal to a man's ambition, and are calculated to rouse all his worst passions—to what extent these influences are brought to bear on the leading professional and business men must be very apparent ! The work of former ages, no doubt, partook of the influences just alluded to, but was calm and methodical compared with that of to-day. A set of fresh incentives to increased exertion has also come into play. That a man should strain every nerve to make his life-work a success, and secure himself in wealth and comfort, if he can, is legitimate enough. But it has become the fashion to be content with nothing short of colossal fortunes, and wealth which shall make the possessor famous by its sheer magnitude.

If our modern modes of work at all approach what has been described, if it be carried on with such concentrated effort, and so much anxiety and excitement, how can it be otherwise than that there should follow exhaustion of brain and nerve ?

(2.) Our mode of education. The attention given to education and the great value attached to it, is surely something in which this age may justly feel pride. The end to be attained has, however, been so steadfastly kept in view, that about the means we have been somewhat unscrupulous. The process of education as conducted in the past, and to some extent in the present, is chargeable with impairing the mind as well as debilitating the body, and by so much increasing the tendency to insanity. This subject is a very extensive one, but I propose to confine myself almost entirely to viewing it from a physiologist's stand-point.

It has to be borne in mind that the educative process is an attempt to call into exercise the functions of the brain, and that in a most direct way. But as the brain is the organ of mind, any over-taxing of the functions will do injury to the organ. But though resembling other organs of the body in many respects, it is quite dissimilar in one; it is not like other internal organs, capable from the time of birth of all the functions which it ever discharges; it is developed to its full function by a long and patient exercise. But ignoring altogether such facts, parents as soon as the earliest indications of intelligence manifest themselves in the children, sedulously induce them by all possible means to exercise their mental faculties, so that they may become prodigies of learning in their infant years. It would not be more absurd, certainly less dangerous, to urge on the infant just able to stand, to attempt feats of walking; only in this case the physical consequences would at once show themselves, whereas any injury done to the brain might not manifest itself for many years. But to pass from the nursery to the school.

If the youth (and I refer here more particularly to those intended for such professions, as require that the matriculation or civil service examination should be passed) is sent to a public school, it is expected that within a certain term of years he shall have mastered a given number of subjects and be able to pass an examination in them, otherwise he shall be considered deficient in mental abilities. Hence, if failure and disgrace are to be avoided, every effort must be put forth to reach the standard within the given time. But since all do not reach mental development by the same age, (and even the most brilliant intellects have been late in development) there is no small risk of mental strain, or of such a distrust of his own powers being begotten, as may paralyse future effort. Parents and teachers conspire to urge on the youth to effort, by means which *may* be legitimate, but frequently are not. It appears to some that short of suffering in the flesh, any means of stimulation to effort is legitimate. But flogging may be kindness compared with some forms of stimulation. Is it an unusual thing for a youth to have set before him what a high place in the examination list may entitle him to? Does not such a place give him a right to the highest position in the public service, and commend him to the public notice and approval? His hope of future place, power, and wealth, his ambition, his vanity, all that is highest and lowest in his nature, are appealed to by the most subtle and appropriate means to induce him to exertion. Such means may be legitimate, and they are, if not employed to urge on

those at a stage of mental development inadequate to the demanded exercise. But how often is it otherwise! In the University the inducements to exertion for distinction are greatly increased. The contest is keener and fiercer, the powers of even the most highly endowed are severely tried. And with what fatal results to mind and body! Who, that has passed through a University, cannot call to mind classfellows who have succumbed in the contest?

Now the teachings of physiology are distinctly antagonistic to the undue stimulation or overtaxing of the undeveloped brain, since it, more than any other organ of the body, requires, before it is fit for its proper functions, to advance towards complete development. Any attempt then to tax its powers prematurely must only have the effect of permanently weakening them. An amount of mischief is often done to the brain at an age so early that it is little suspected, since it may not appear for years after, just as the slight cut or bruise in the wood of the sapling becomes in the grown tree a serious flaw or excrescence. In infants the injury sometimes becomes apparent at once in such ailments as are commonly known as inflammation of the brain, brain-fever, water in the head, and various affections of the nervous system. Brain impairment in after life is the more frequent result.

It is with no very pleasant feelings that most of us witness the feats of child-acrobats, rope-walkers, and circus-riders. We are apt to suspect that cruelty or undue stimulation must have been brought to bear on them in the training to feats so unnatural to the time of life. They may not have been flogged into the proper performance of their feats, they only have had extra inducements held out to them, yet the process must have been in some stage cruel and unnatural. It is with entirely similar feelings that we should look upon a child going through a series of mental gymnastics. Law has now stepped in to protect, as far as possible, children being trained for public exhibition. The child of the coal-worker, nailer, and factory hand are protected from too early physical strain, but what law could protect from the greater cruelty of too early mental strain? The error underlying this too early education of children is no doubt this, that it is possible by early training of the intellectual faculties to manufacture a set of intellectual giants. With quite as much reason might it be supposed that by early physical training every child might in time be made six feet high.

With regard to brain-development, physiology sanctions a totally

different course. To bring each child to the highest point of intellectual development which he is capable of attaining, the brain should be allowed as far as possible to be quiescent till advancing towards development; all topics likely to excite into undue action would be carefully avoided. A trainer of horses, aiming at the highest development of an animal, is careful not to break into steady work for at least a year or two later than is usually done. We might take a leaf out of his book.

I have been referring to the effects of the educative process as it is too frequently carried on, on the organ of mind itself—the brain; but the evil effects do not end there. I have said little of the effects on the muscular and nervous systems and the health of the body generally. The brain presides over the nutrition of the body, and any injury to it or impairment of its functions interferes with the nutrition of the whole body. By our mode of education, too, the nervous system is apt to be developed out of due proportion to the muscular and other system. Sedentary work in which there is limited scope for the play of heart and lungs is apt to take the place of the constant bodily exercise on which muscular development depends. And even if there be a considerable amount of out-door exercise, if too great a number of hours be given to work in our public schools, the result will still be injurious. Several recent writers in the English medical press, express the opinion that an over-developed nervous system, due to too intense an application to work in our public schools, causes a premature development of that portion of the nervous system known as the sexual.

(3.) *The concentration of population in our great cities.* The tendency becoming so common of large masses of our population to quit country for city life, affords to far-seeing statesmen in all civilized countries, grave anxiety as to the future consequences. In whatever country this tendency prevails, to that country it must be regarded as a misfortune, for it means a decrease in the number of those who produce the staples of subsistence—the producers of national wealth—our agricultural population.

It is a misfortune not only for the state in which it takes place, but to the individual concerned. For in cities, improved as they are, the houses which the poor must inhabit were built for the rich; there is no proper ventilation, no sufficient water supply nor drainage. There must be over-crowding, and as an inevitable consequence, fever, phthisis, and generally a deterioration of health. The contrast between the health of the citizen and the countryman

is written on their faces and figures. Such city-life continued for two or three generations produces, as may be seen in the back slums of London or Paris, an unmistakable degeneration of racial type—a tendency to return to the barbarian in physique and morals.

If then the city life as it now is, be more productive of disease than country life, a fact* which few will care to deny, it must also be more productive of insanity. For it is consonant with common sense as well as observed facts, that whatever tends to general deterioration of nutrition, to a depraved bodily or mental condition, tends also to produce insanity if not in the first, at least in the next generation.

(4.) *The increase in the use of luxuries.* The enervating effects of luxurious living need no demonstration. A height of luxury was attained in some of the earlier civilizations, to which we perhaps have not yet attained. But whereas in those days the use of luxuries fell to the lot of the few, it is in our days shared by the masses. The articles of luxury affected by the masses are unfortunately not such as minister to refined or cultivated taste, but to the mere gratification of the senses—in a word, chiefly the luxuries of the table. The increased wages of the English workman of to-day are devoted not to make his home more cheerful or comfortable, but to drinking and debauchery. Dr. Yellowlees, superintendent of a lunatic asylum in Glamorganshire,† found that during a period in which there were locks-out of the ironworkers, and wages were low, there was a falling off of male admissions to the local asylum, of one half as compared with a similar period of ordinary years, a fact indicating most surely the connection between debauchery and insanity. The habitual use of rich and stimulating diet is doubtless injurious enough, inducing disease indirectly, but there are two articles which exert so special

* Since the above was written, I find in an able leader in the *Argus* of 26th November the following statistics quoted from a French work on this subject:—"We learn from a book just published in Paris by Alphonse Karr, that the annual rate of mortality in the French provinces is 1 in 40 against 1 in 26 in the working man's quarter of the capital; that the exemption from the conscription from diminutive stature or physical defects, are only 2 out of 7 in the agricultural districts, while they are 2 out of 5 in many of the manufacturing regions; that the French hospitals receive very few from the classes engaged in husbandry, and that in the Department du Vord (one of the centres of manufacturing industry), 1 in every 6 is a recipient of charity; in that of the Rhone (the seat of the silk factories), one person in every 9 is a pauper; while in the purely agricultural departments of Creuse and Vordogne, the proportion of indigent persons to the whole population is 1 in 330 and 1 in 388 respectively."

† *Journal of Medical Science*, April, 1873.

and direct an influence on the nervous system that they deserve more than a passing notice. I refer to alcohol and tobacco.

The amount of insanity directly due to alcohol is greatly exaggerated, but it is by no means inconsiderable. Almost every lunatic asylum report in every country gives a different estimate of the percentage of admissions from drunkenness. The estimate for all countries by Drs. Bucknill and Tuke* is certainly a low average, viz., 12 per cent. But even accepting this, the numbers are by no means inconsiderable. But the insanity and diseases of the nervous system which so frequently end in it, due to alcohol indirectly, form a far more serious indictment. Alcohol is responsible indirectly for a large percentage of paralysis in various forms, epilepsy, hypochondriasis, apoplexy, and heart failure, so frequently causes of insanity. I am taking account now of it as a bringer of nervous diseases only, and not of the organs of digestion, liver, lungs, etc. On alcohol as an indirect producer of disease, statistics cannot be given; the concurrence of medical opinion on this point is the only proof offered. How immensely the consumption of alcohol in almost every form has increased within the last few years in all so-called civilised countries, is notorious.† It is possible that our modes of work just referred to, the nervous depression and exhaustion attending concentrated and long sustained effort, or which may be, sad to say, the inheritance of some, may induce the craving for alcohol, and find satisfaction in it. But with what result? Dr. B. W. Richardson, "Diseases of Modern Life," p. 234, says, "The evidence is all perfect that alcohol gives no potential power to brain or muscle. During the first stage of its action it may enable a wearied or feeble organism to do brisk work for a time, it may excite muscle to quick action, but it fills up nothing it has destroyed. A fire makes a brilliant light but it leaves a desolation. It is the same with alcohol." This much from one who is not a teetotaller.

It is a matter of every-day observation that the consumption of tobacco has enormously increased, within the last quarter of a century especially. That anything beyond the most moderate use of it produces even in adults various functional nervous disease, and is generally enervating, and that it materially assists to aggravate and increase diseases already existing, medical men amply testify. But

* *Physiological Medicine*, p. 100.

† In the *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1875, p. 173, it is stated that in Great Britain in 1874, the public revenue derived was £30,000,000 from direct taxes levied on alcoholic drinks.

it is on the organization of the growing youth that its deleterious effects best appear. Stunted growth, premature manhood, and physical prostration are the inevitable consequences. What shall be said of the prospects of a country where the youth before they enter their teens, are miserable without their tobacco-pipe? For the succeeding generation, what are the prospects?

It were no hard matter to notice many other causes that augment the tendency to mental disease in this age pre-eminently. I might name poverty, severe mental toil, and ambition, but the drift of my argument may sufficiently appear from what has been already written.

But even if it be so that insanity and diseases of enervation are increasing *pari passu* with our modern civilisation, and as a consequence of it, who would propose as a remedy to put back the clock of the century, say 50 years, and revert to the slow pace and easy-going ways of our grandfathers? It cannot be done; the gifts of the gods are without revoke. It seems to me that the influences which I have referred to as directly or indirectly causing insanity are, after all, non-essentials of our civilization, and are merely temporary and capable of being counteracted. We, in this century, may be fitly compared to the caged creature, just let into larger liberty, which beats itself against its prison bars, not understanding the limits of its freedom, but which bye-and-bye adapts itself to its new circumstances. With increased civilization comes an increased demand that we on our part should adapt ourselves to the new surroundings and influences among which Providence has placed us—otherwise we shall pay the penalty. Those influences tending to produce insanity it is in our power scientifically to counteract.

As to our mode of work and its evil effects. To the lot of our business and professional men of to-day, no doubt there falls a larger amount of solid brain-work which is inevitable, a greater demand for promptitude of action, more excitement and anxiety owing to keen competition and rivalry. But is it essential that this work should be done with the maximum of turmoil and disquietude? Is not a large portion of our fuss a conformity to a mere tyrannous fashion, to a conventional conception of how successful work should be done? And even if the work and the rate of speed be necessary to successful business conducting, it is not necessary at least that a man's recreation should also be laborious. Yet how often is it that business men engaged in brain-work all day, pursue "the business of pleasure" with even greater loss of nervous energy at night. The shorter hours of business are to many a real curse in this

respect, since they are so much added to the opportunity of merely gratifying the senses. It is the practice of a London physician, so he says, to ask over-worked patients what is their second employment besides bread-earning. Solomon's injunction is by many converted into "Whatsoever thy hand findeth *not* to do, do *it* with thy might." The man who earns his bread by brain-work takes his recreation in brain-work. He who works confined all day goes to the crowded assembly at night. Or some hobby may be pursued, or convivial excesses indulged in, which may prove to the brain-worker the last straw which shall break the back. From such work and recreation the Nemesis of nervous exhaustion crouches not far away. The marvel is that nature is so long-suffering.

It is an easy matter by an act of the will to cause the body to rest, but how to rest the brain is to some a more difficult matter. Of course the natural rest to the brain is sleep. How important to the hard brain-worker to have his full measure! How significant ought to be to him his inability to get it. But there is also a *waking-rest*. Nervous energy it is true is being constantly evolved; the mind is ever active, and the common expression of this we hear every day, "One cannot cease thinking." But there is thinking and thinking. To direct the mind from more exciting to less exciting subjects, to completely change the objects on which the thoughts may have been for a long time continually directed, for such as require less mental effort, will give comparative rest. The overworked must lay himself open to such influences as may perhaps unconsciously to himself take the mind out of the grooves in which it is but too apt to run, and, as it were, shunt it on to another line. For this end many find in light literature, novels especially, a most potent and legitimate influence. I might speak of games of skill, especially such as take one out of doors, and particularly of music. It seems to me, however, that no rest is equal in its soothing effect to the direct observation of nature. Nature-study in one field or other, lies to the hand of almost every one in these colonies at least. We may set ourselves to the study of biology around which Darwin has thrown such a charm, or astronomy, or botany, in which new discoveries are every day being made, and in these and similar studies more rest is obtainable than from any other source. The reason may be hard to divine, but let those who have had experience testify to the fact. Such studies may seem to some trivial or even childish. It seems to me, however, that to be interested in the birth of your sea-anemones, to watch the

marvellous transformations of your insects, to observe your sun-dew's method of catching and digesting its flies, the adaptations of the structures of animals and plants, are quite as dignified and worthy pursuits as to be able to retail the city scandal and gossip, or to be *au courant* with the novels of the day. By thus getting external influences to operate upon the man, his mind is drawn out of itself, the habit is acquired of being able to dismiss the cares and worries of business.

On beach and hill, in dell and sheltered nook, a thousand "fairy tales of science" await the searcher's eye, and He who created the mind of man has enriched his earthly abode with sources of exhilaration and restorative influences, which are the natural counteractive of exhausting city life. As the giant Antaeus, whom Hercules sought to strangle, received fresh energy every time his feet touched his fabled mother earth, so we, the children of earth, experience our highest recreation from contact with her loveliness and her secret lore. Longfellow thus describes the process and result:—

"And he wandered away and away,
With Nature, the dear old nurse,
Who sang to him night and day
The rhymes of the universe ;
And whenever the way seemed long,
Or his heart began to fail,
She would sing a more wonderful song,
Or tell a more marvellous tale ;
So she helps him, still a child,
And will not let him go."

If in the past, from a keen perception of the value of early and thorough education, we have in our great zeal done injury to both the physical and mental constitution of many of our youth, there are indications of a far wiser course being adopted. A better understanding of natural laws, as well as past experience, show what risk attends the attempt to prematurely develop the brain of the infant and youth. Precocity now excites alarm where it formerly excited applause. The evil results attending too long and too severe work in the public school, are being diminished. The gymnasium and the playground hold almost equal rank with the class-room. The hours of work are being shortened; and parents and teachers jealously watch for the symptoms of over-work. To some of the best English public schools a medical man is appointed whose sole duty it is to watch over the physical and mental hygiene of the

school. And as among educationists a wider knowledge of the laws of physiology and psychology obtains, may it not reasonably be expected that many of the errors of the past will be avoided? The youths who have unfortunately inherited a tendency to insanity or mental weakness, on whom school-work is too often injudiciously forced, may be then so trained as to escape the evils which now so often overtake them in after life. Even to the prevention of the tendency to insanity, it is not less but more education that we want. Men who have devoted their lifetime to the study of psychology—I instance Maudsley and Carpenter—look forward to an education conducted more in harmony with that science, as likely to greatly diminish the number of the insane. Then much may be expected from the training that a man gets from parents and teachers, but much more from the training that each man must give himself. On this point I give the powerful words of Maudsley—"Physiology and Pathology of Mind," p. 237:—

"In the capacity that a man has of self-formation there lies a great power over himself to prevent insanity. Perhaps not many persons need go mad—at any rate from moral causes—if they only knew the resources of their own nature, and resolved systematically to develop them. We who have practical knowledge of the insane, know well what a power of self-control they sometimes evince when they have a sufficient motive to exercise it. It is indeed in this power of self-control, and in the way those who have the care of them elicit it, that asylums have become quite orderly institutions, instead of being, as formerly, dens of disorder and violence. Now, if the power exists in the insane mind, in such a degree as to prevent the manifestations of madness, is it not reasonable to suppose that if properly trained and exercised originally, it might have sufficed to prevent its occurrence?"

As to great cities and their enervating influences, science may well point with pride to what has been accomplished. That condition of cities which only in last century bred fever, plague, and deaths of various kinds, was deemed for long irremediable in cities of considerable size. But within the last few years, by the applications of sanitary science, the death-rate has been greatly reduced (that of London itself to 22 per 1000, almost as low as that of some English counties); the rookeries where human beings were compelled to herd are being removed to make way for houses in which it is at least possible to live in cleanliness and decency. In the heart of cities breathing spaces are being created. The facilities for visiting the country, draw numbers out of the city during the night, and crowds every holiday. As the result, there has been a lowering of the death-rate, a marked decrease in fevers and dysentery, and of necessity

an improvement in the general health. If the city yield a large harvest of insane, and facts prove it, surely such progress in the past gives good hope of its certain diminution; for were the sanitary improvements already discovered carried into practice, the city might almost be a Hygeia.

With regard to luxurious living, I have left myself space to say but a word. Those external advantages which science has given us will doubtless, when we come to understand their proper use, tend to a higher and more cultured physical life, instead of enervating us.

That insanity shall ever become one of the extinct diseases can hardly be the dream of even the greatest visionary. Very much, however, may be expected from medical science towards giving us a much more complete control over it than now. It is oftentimes most intractable as a disease; for the mind, though slow to be deposed from its office, when deposed is correspondingly slow to allow itself to be led back again. But there is no need to wait for some new discovery of medical science for us to be able to cope with this calamity even most successfully. I have tried to show that certain of its predisposing causes are entirely within our control, that we may supply or withhold them at our pleasure. If this be so, then those conditions of mind and body in which when a man happens to be, his reason falls an easy prey to reverses or successes, he is entirely responsible for. Let us only diligently withdraw the antecedent causes, and the consequent effects will also certainly disappear. If only all the means which we know were duly applied, there would soon be a most marked diminution in our insane population.

I would sum up in brief what I have been trying to establish in the preceding pages:—

1. That insanity, though not to the extent generally supposed, is increasing in all civilized countries, and that in proportion to the degree of their civilization.

2. That the increase is due mainly to the perversion of the blessings of civilization; that given a country where men overwork themselves, live in cities with insanitary surroundings, indulge in luxurious habits of life, do injury directly to the brain while undeveloped, or pursue other modes of life tending to enervation, there insanity will predominate.

3. That the true means of checking the increase of insanity is not in a lower but in a higher degree of civilization, and above all in educating each individual in a community into thorough self-control and temperance in all things.

HALF AN HOUR WITH HEINRICH HEINE.

THERE are certain books (*Biblia abiblia*, as Charles Lamb says) which no gentleman's library should be without; though such, it may be feared, are mostly condemned to spend a life of respected and unmolested leisure upon those shelves on which they press. There are certain others whose proper and natural place is the pocket, the smoking-room, the bed-head, the boudoir—anywhere, in fact, but the gentleman's library; books which one likes to see somewhat dingy, thumbed, and pencil-marked; books ever at hand to awake laughter and bid care flee; books which take part in the struggle of life as not disinterested spectators, and which, without distorting their expression by any undue strain of earnestness, still play no unimportant part; that of the Johanniter-Ritter in the struggle of suffering humanity. Such are the works of Aristophanes and Horace amongst the ancients; such are those of Charles Lamb and Thackeray among the moderns; and such are pre-eminently the works of Heinrich Heine, poet, philosopher, and critic, whose writings are known too little in England, but have been signally appreciated by those whose acquaintanceship with them has been the most thorough. Among these we may note Mr. Matthew Arnold, whose essay on Heine will remain a monument of generous and tasteful criticism as long as the English language shall be spoken in its purity. Mr. Stigand, in his recently published work on the "Life and Opinions of Heinrich Heine," has done good service in introducing the great German to Englishmen. Careful, accurate, and appreciative, he has done all for Heine that could be done for any man who was not a born poet and a born humorist.

German by accident, Frenchman by choice, Jew by birth, Heine united in a conspicuous degree tenderness, wit, and earnestness. Indeed, if we were called upon to pick out an ideal jury, such as Heine speaks of, to judge of the merits of his writings, one would feel tempted to place Schiller, Voltaire, and some one of the Hebrew prophets first upon the panel of criticism. It is my object in this article not so much to give a life of Heine, for that has been most ably written by Mr. Stigand, but rather to give a few extracts from his works which may tempt my readers to study Heine himself in his own language. For it must be distinctly stated that no translator can do him justice. In his hands the expressive but

somewhat cumbersome German language, like an athlete in training, loses weight without losing strength; nay, gains in suppleness, refinement, and grace, until we almost wonder if the same language in which Heine's witticisms look so light and airy can be the ponderous pall which envelopes the criticisms of the ordinary run of German critics and commentators.

Heine was born in the year 1800, and he himself used to say that he was one of the first men of his century. His grandfather, Heymann Heine, was born at Bückeberg, the capital of a minute principality between Hanover and Hamburg, which Heine mentions to refute Danton's saying that a man cannot carry his country on the soles of his feet, alleging that when he walked there in the winter season he carried half the principality with him in the shape of mud on his boots. Heymann had six sons, some of whom amassed wealth by dealing in money. Heine's remark upon the success of his uncles is characteristic. He attributes it to the monotheism of the Jewish race in the times when it was fighting for its existence. The heathen among whom the Jews lived made for themselves gods of silver and gold, but they had to pay for their fancy. The Jews invested the money which they saved by their simple worship in Assyrio-Babylonian state loans, or in Nebuchadnezzarian bonds, or in Egyptian canal shares. "These the Lord has blessed as he has also blessed those of our own time." It hardly seems straining the imagination to suppose that Heinrich inherited two strains of the old genuine Jewish blood; of that race which delighted in wars and conquest; that left merchandise and huckstering to the misguided Canaanites who had fascinations enough to seduce from their sterner and simpler tastes the nomad Hebrews who settled in their midst. Samson Heine settled at Düsseldorf, and here Heinrich was born. At that time it was the capital of Duchy of Berg, which in 1806 was transferred to Joachim Murat, the brother-in-law of Napoleon. His description of his native village is characteristic, and characteristically ushered in. He has been describing one of his reveries, which he invests with a reality rivaling that with which De Quincey invests his opium-born visions. He is the Count of the Ganges; he has just looked upon his dear home—the blue, the holy Ganges, the ever gleaming Himalayas, the giant banana groves in whose wide avenues the sapient elephants and the white-robed pilgrims wandered: "wondrous dreamy flowers gazed on me giving me secret counsel, golden miracle-birds uttered their cry of ecstasy, flickering sunbeams and the pleasant vacancy of the

cries of laughing monkeys twitted me right pleasantly; from the Pagoda in the distance resounded the pious prayers of priests, and at intervals I heard the melting plaintive accents of the Sultana of Delhi No, I have deceived you. I was never in India more than the Indian curry which you ate yesterday. . . . I saw the light of the world on that fair stream where on green mountains Folly grows, and in autumn is plucked, pressed, poured into casks, and sent to foreign lands. In truth, it was only yesterday I heard one utter a Folly which was lodged in a grape-cluster in the year 1811, and which I saw in that very year growing on the Johannisberg. A good deal of Folly, however, is consumed in my country; and men are there much the same as everywhere: they are born, eat, drink, sleep, laugh, cry, gossip, are anxiously concerned about the transmission of the human race, seek to appear what they are not, and to do what they are unable to do, don't get shaved till they have a beard, and often have a beard before they have wits, and when they get their wits then they intoxicate themselves anew with Folly, white or red.

Heavens, if I had in me as much faith as would remove mountains, the Johannisberg is just the mountain which I would get to follow me everywhere. But as my faith is not so strong, my fancy has to help me, and fancy transports me without delay to the beautiful Rhine.

Oh! 'tis a fair land, full of loveliness and sunshine. The steep banks mirror themselves in the blue stream with their ruined castles and their strange old towns. There sit the townsfolk on summer evenings before their house doors, and quaff out of huge jugs, and prate away confidentially: "how well the wine, thank God, is doing; and how the law courts must at any cost be open to all: how Marie Antoinette was coolly guillotined without saying—by your leave; how Government raises the price of tobacco, and how all men are equal, and what an arch-knave Gorres is!" (Gorres was, Mr. Stigand tells us, a renegade anti-liberal pamphleteer.) Heine then goes on to tell us how this sort of talk interested him little; how he preferred to sit by the pretty Gertrude, the pretty Catherine, or the pretty Hedwig; to listen to their momentous trifling, to sulk or seem to sulk till they had pelted him with flowers or confided to him their amorous confessions. He then passes on to describe the entry of the French into Dusseldorf; and this must be given in his own words, for it seems very characteristic. There is a secret corner of his heart in which is treasured up no small amount of

love for his old-fashioned, simple, well-meaning, pedantic old Germany. But almost all his heart and all his vivid fancy sprang forth to meet the fascinating Liberators of the world, whom in his younger years he loved for their courtesy and dashing spirit, in his maturer years for their manifest sympathy for all that was aspiring, ennobling, or great, and for that readiness which they have always manifested in seizing and appreciating the newest and best ideas and acting upon them.

"At that time princes were not the poor worried souls they are now. Their crowns then grew tight to their heads. Of a night they pulled their nightcaps over their eyes and slept peacefully; and at their feet slept their people equally peacefully; and when their people woke of a morning they would say, 'Good morning, Father!' and the princes would answer, 'Good morning, my dear children!'

But all this is changed of a sudden. When we woke one morning in Dusseldorf, and were just going to say "Good morning, Father!" we found that Father was off for a trip; and the whole town was blank and chill; everywhere reigned a sort of funeral feeling; folks sneaked along to the market in silence, and read the long paper hand-bill on the door of the Town-hall. The weather was threatening rain; and, in spite of this, Kilian, the scraggy tailor, stood there in his nankin-jacket, which he commonly wore nowhere but in the house, and his blue woollen stockings hung down at his heels, so that his naked little legs peeped out dismally, and his narrow lips quivered as he muttered over the contents of the poster to himself. An old palatinate pensioner was reading too, but a little louder, and at many a word a transparent tear would trickle down to his honest white moustache. I stood by his side and joined my tears to his, and asked him why it was we were crying. He answered, "The Elector has abdicated." And then he read further; and at the words "For your allegiance as our subjects," and at "We free you from your obligations," he cried more violently still. It is curious to see how suddenly an old man with faded uniform and the scarred face of a poor soldier can burst suddenly into tears. Even while we were reading, the electoral arms were taken down from the Town Hall, and everything assumed an anxious and desolate look, just as though we were waiting for an eclipse. The dismissed gentlemen of the Town Council went about with the slow gait of men who had got their *congé*. Even the omnipotent town beadle bore on his face that he had no more commands to give, and stood there in an attitude of

peaceful indifference, although the cracked beggar Aloysius raised himself up on his one leg, and with the grimaces of a lunatic, cackled out the names of the French generals, while the hunch-backed drunkard, Gumpertz, rolled in the gutter and sang 'ça ira, ça ira.'"

Heine's imagination, if we may trust himself, was equally active in the dreams of his sleep, as in those of his waking hours. He went home, he says, and went crying to bed. He dreamed that the world had come to an end; that the beautiful flower-gardens and green meadows were taken up from the ground and rolled up together; the town-beadle climbed up a high ladder and took the sun down from heaven; tailor Kilian stood by, and said to himself I must go home and put on my fine clothes, for I'm dead and have to be buried to-day. "It grew darker and darker; a few stars were glimmering here and there, and even these kept falling like yellow leaves in autumn. Gradually the people disappeared, and I, poor child, wandered anxiously about until I found myself standing before the willow-hedge of a desolate farm-house, and there saw a man who was turning up the earth with a spade, and near him a hideous uncanny woman who held in her apron something like an amputated human head. This was the moon, and she laid it anxiously and carefully in the open grave. And behind me stood the old Palatine pensioner, and sobbed and spelt out, "The Elector has a-b-d-i-c-a-t-e-d."

He woke, and saw the entry of the French troops, the gay sons of glory, who went through the world singing and jingling, the grenadier guards with their joyous determined looks, the bearskin caps, the tricoloured cockades, the gleaming bayonets, the Voltigeurs full of merriment and *point d'honneur*, the almighty great silver-sticked drum-major, who could reach with his gold-knobbed wand up to the first story, and with his eyes to the second, where pretty girls were sitting at the windows. . . .

"My neighbours Peter and the long Kunz were very near breaking their necks (in climbing up the back of the great Elector's horse), and that would have been a good thing for both of them; for Peter ran away from home, enlisted, deserted, and was shot at Mayence; Kunz took later to making geographical explorations in strange pockets, and in consequence became a working member of a public spinning-house. However, he severed the iron bands which linked him to this and to his fatherland; escaped safely over the water, and died in London of a too-tight choker, which contracted of itself,

as a royal official drew a plank from beneath Kunz's legs. There was trumpeting and flag-waving and cannonading, and best of all no school that day. Next day school began again, with its hateful lessons by rote, Roman kings, dates, nouns in *im*, irregular verbs, Greek, Hebrew, geography, German language, mental calculation. Heavens! my head swims even now when I think of it. Every thing had to be learnt by heart. Yet much of it proved useful to me in later years. Suppose I had never known the Roman kings by heart, it would have been the same to me whether Niebuhr had proved or not that they never existed in fact. . . . In arithmetic, I was best at subtraction; there is a good practical rule for this: four from three won't go, borrow one. Still I advise any one in such cases always to borrow a few groschen extra; for one can't tell what may happen!—But as for the Latin, you can't think how confused it all is. The Romans would surely never have had leisure enough to conquer the world if they had had to learn Latin first. These lucky people knew from the very cradle what nouns form their accusative in *im*. *Vis, buris, sitis, tussis, cucumis, amussis, cannabis, sinapis*, have made such a noise in the world that I keep them ever at hand in case I should need them of a sudden, and this gives me much inward calm and consolation in many sorrowful hours of my life. But the irregular verbs—the distinction between them and the regulars is that you get more canings with the former than with the latter—are frightfully hard. In the gloomy cloisters of the Franciscan convent near the school-room, used to hang a large crucifix of grey wood; the Christ was a desolate figure, which even yet haunts my dreams of a night, and looks at me sorrowfully with its fixed and blood-shot eyes. Before this figure I used often to stand and pray, 'Oh, thou poor God, persecuted once like myself, if it be in any way possible, make me keep the irregular verbs in my head!'

. . . . I never made such close acquaintanceship with the Hebrew as did my watch, which was on very intimate terms of acquaintance with pawnbrokers, and hereby acquired many Jewish customs. For instance on Saturdays it used to stop, and learn the sacred language; and I often, through sleepless nights, used to hear with wonder how it would tick away; *katal, katalta, katalti—kittel, kittalta, kittalti—pokat, pokadeti—pikat, pik, pik.*"

In learning his German he makes the reflection that one would think that it was enough to have all the military duties and taxes they entail as one's birthright—not to speak of the swarms of nobility—without unnecessarily tacking on an accusative and dative to one's

mother tongue. Still he learnt much from one Professor Schramm, who wrote a book on the prospects of an everlasting peace, and had the noisiest class in the school.

In geography it was hard to make much progress, for the French kept putting the scholars out of their reckoning; the colours on the maps kept changing day by day; and more than this, the productions of the different countries kept changing too—chicory and beet-root taking the places of oats and country-bumpkins.

One of the wittiest passages in the "Reise-bilder" is Heine's description of how he learnt French, and at the risk of exceeding my due bounds I must quote it. He got on best of all with his French, he says, in the Abbé d'Aulnoi's French class. "He was a French emigré, who had written a crowd of grammars; he wore a red wig, and would jump about with a knowing air when he recited his 'Art Poétique' and his 'Histoire Allemande.' French has its difficulties as well as other subjects; to master it you must undergo much billeting of soldiers, much drumming, much '*apprendre par coeur*,' and above all mustn't be a '*bête allemande*.' I remember now as well as though it only happened yesterday, the trouble I got into through '*la religion*.' The question came round to me fully six times, 'Henri, what is faith (*der Glaube*) in French?' And six times, each time with more tears, I would answer, it is '*le crédit*.' The seventh time the examiner got as flushed as a cherry, and shouted in a passion, 'It's *la religion*!' and then came a shower of blows, and my schoolmates laughed all round. Since that time I have never heard the word religion mentioned without my back growing pale for terror, and my cheek red with shame. And to speak the truth, *le crédit* has always stood me in better service through life than *la religion*." He learnt the best part of his French, he says, from M. Le Grand, a French tambour-major, who knew only a little broken German—only the few essential expressions, such as bread, kiss, honour—still he could always make himself well understood on the drum; "for instance, when I didn't understand the word *liberté*, he would drum out the *Marseillaise*, and I understood him. If I didn't understand the meaning of *Egalité*, he would drum out the march *ça ira, ça ira . . . les aristocrates à la lanterne*,—and if I didn't understand the meaning of *bêtise*, he would drum out the *Dessauer March*, just as we Germans, as Goethe tells us, drummed it out in Champagne, and I understood him. Once he wanted to explain the word *l'Allemagne* to me, and then he drummed out that simple old, old tune which you often hear played

on market days to dancing dogs, viz., 'Dum, dum, dum!' * I was piqued, but still I understood him. In the same way he used to teach me modern history. True, I didn't understand the words which he spoke, but as he kept drumming all the time he was speaking I understood quite well what he meant to say. After all this is the best method of teaching. You can't understand the history of the Storming of the Bastille, or that of the Tuileries, until you understand what a drumming there was on those occasions. In our school-books you only read, Their Excellencies the Barons and Counts and their consorts were beheaded; their Highnesses the Dukes and Princes and their consorts were beheaded; His Majesty the King and his consort were beheaded. But when you hear the red Guillotine March drummed out, then and not till then do you understand the why and the how." . . .

In 1819 Heine went to the University of Bonn, where he pursued his studies as a law-student. He stayed there for rather more than a year, and then formed the resolve of migrating to the University of Göttingen, for the curious reason that the study of literature was rendered so fascinating at Bonn that it threatened to interfere with the study of law, by which he meant to get his living. In reading the account of the Bonn University in Heine's time we cannot help being struck by the long list of names of European reputation both amongst teachers and taught, and further by the love with which learning was pursued for its own sake, quite independently of any immediate utility which might accrue from such study. "For a long time," writes Heine, "we talked of nothing but the *Niebelungen Lied*." Not many years after this men talked of nothing at Oxford but of the monstrousness of the decision in the Gorham case, and hunting-men in their pink might be heard discussing the advisability or otherwise of adopting the doctrines of Tract Ninety, or of effecting a thorough reform in Church matters. The difference is characteristic. The great features in the German universities have been—firstly, that they have represented the whole German nation quite independently of political divisions; secondly, that the professorships in these Universities have been given to the best men obtainable, and absolute liberty in teaching has been granted to them; thirdly, that they have been freed absolutely from ecclesiastical domination or influence. In all these three respects they have offered a contrast to the English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The high fees for instruction in

Dumm, in German, means Stupid.

those institutions render them accessible only to the wealthier classes and, even since the late reforms, to few besides. The tuition is mainly assigned to young men who look for their future to the Bar or the Church. The colleges are nearly all under the direction of ecclesiastical fellows, and the college livings offer a tempting future to any student who shall take orders and sign dogmas which he is taught that he need not understand. Oxford and Cambridge, from their antiquity, their beauty, from the unspeakable services they have rendered to learning, must ever retain the love of Englishmen; but those who love them best may be excused for wishing to import into them what seems best in foreign universities. The Scottish universities have done to a great extent for Scotland what the German universities have done for Germany; but their teaching body is miserably small, and the secondary instruction is poorly provided for in Scotland, so that students come up to the University but poorly prepared, and consequently the lecturers who would go deeply into their subjects are trammelled and hampered.

Heine's description of Göttingen is too good to be passed over. It must be remembered that the young poet hated the study of law, and that he writes the following passage after a severe course of that unpoetical study and upon the eve of running away for a walking excursion into the Harz mountains—"The town of Göttingen, famed for its sausages and its University, belongs to the King of Hanover, and contains 999 fire stations, several churches, a lying-in-hospital, an observatory, a prison, a library, and a town cellar—where the beer is very good. The stream which flows by it is called the Seine, and is useful in summer time for bathing; the water is very cold, and in some places it is so broad that Lüder must have taken quite a long run to clear it. The town itself is pretty, and is most pleasing when you turn your back on it. It must have been founded long ago, for I remember well that when I matriculated there five years ago (and was shortly afterwards rusticated) it had the same gray wise old look, and was fully supplied with rattles, poodles, dissertations, *Thé-dansants*, washerwomen, compendia, roast pigeons, state-carriages, pipe-bowls, court councillors, law councillors, and other councillors. . . Generally speaking, the inhabitants of Göttingen may be divided into students, professors, Philistines, and beasts; but these three divisions are anything but distinctly marked. The beasts form the largest class. To recount the names of all the students, and of all the professors, ordinary and extraordinary, would be too

prolix ; besides, at this minute, I cannot recall the names of all the students, and among the professors are many who have as yet acquired no name at all. The number of the Göttingen Philistines must be as great as land, or rather as mud, on the beach. Indeed, when I saw them of a morning with their dirty faces and white bills planted before the doors of the academic court, I could scarcely understand how Heaven could have created such a lot of ragamuffins."

Heine left Göttingen, because he could not stand the rough manners of the quarrelsome students. He challenged one of them to a duel with pistols, was rusticated, and proceeded to Berlin. There he came, for the first time in his life, into contact with the restless activity of a great capital, and under the influence of the teaching of Hegel, Von der Hagen, Franz Bopp, and Wolf. But the chief charm that he seems to have found in Berlin was the charming society which he met at the house of the Varnhagens, who kept open house for all the men and women of talent in Germany—Schleiermacher, Fichte, and Chamisso were regular attendants at their house, and Frau von der Hagen was in regular correspondence with Frederick von Schlegel, Tieck, and De la Motte Fouqué. We can imagine the fascination which such society must have had for the young poet, and can scarcely help being astonished when we hear that in 1823 he resolved to withdraw from the Prussian capital, and to transfer his residence to France. He was a Jew and the son of a Jew, and this was enough to bar every portal to fame to the sensitive genius, should he remain in Germany. Seven years however were destined to elapse before he carried out the wish of his heart. He returned to Göttingen, took his degree of Doctor of Laws, and in 1825 renounced his Jewish faith and was baptised as a Christian Protestant. This is not the place to discuss the worth of such converts to the Church who thinks it worth her while to make them, nor the morality of a convert, who, to gain his daily bread, consents to give his allegiance to one set of dimly apprehended intellectual abstractions, rather than to another set. It is fair to Heine to say that he never seems to have had any other feeling for his race than love and sympathy, and from many passages written after his conversion it may be inferred that he not unfrequently felt righteous indignation at himself for quitting the faith of his forefathers. In 1825 we see Heine at Hamburg, which he visited with the view of entering on practice there as a lawyer. But in Hamburg the spirit of Philistinism was too strong for him and his soul revolted against it. Hence, the next year we find him again leading the life of

a recluse at Lüneburg, then visiting England, and then at the end of 1827 undertaking the charming trip to Munich, the Tyrol, and Italy, which forms the subject of the second volume of the *Reisebilder*. In 1830 we see him in Heligoland recruiting his health, and eagerly catching the sound of the stir that preceded the "Three days of July." An uneasy restlessness seized on him at once. He felt that the hour had come when the son of the Revolution—for so he called himself—should go to his own place. He would crown his head for the battle of death and grasp the lyre in his hands that he might sing a song of battle. Accordingly we see Heine in Paris in the year 1831, and from this time forward the gay country of his adoption was his home until his death, which happened 16th February, 1856. In 1835, he married Mathilde Crescence Morat, a light-hearted, ignorant, sympathetic daughter of France, and what little of happiness his anxious mind and tortured body permitted him to enjoy in life he seems to have owed to his contact with her artless nature. He took her to him rather as a plaything or means of distraction; he found her a true and light-hearted helpmate. His idea of putting her to school after he had been married to her some four years is truly Heinesque. He rejoiced in hearing the dry old school legends repeated from her pretty lips, and found it specially charming that she knew the list of Egyptian kings better than he did himself, and that she could instruct him in the wonderful story of the wool-loving Lucretia.

Mr. Matthew Arnold has, in a essay of singular beauty both of thought and diction, pointed out Heine's great services to his country and his century. His life was a constant struggle against Philistinism in the cause of Freedom: freedom from the shackles of tyranny; the tyranny of despotism; the tyranny of convention; the tyranny of pedantry. The word "Philistine" has been so thoroughly acclimatised in the English language, thanks to Mr. Matthew Arnold, that it hardly needs explanation. It denotes in Germany that very numerous class who are opposed to the favoured people, the children of light, and their ideas. Heine gives us in his "Trip from Munich to Genoa," a picture of one such, an ideal citizen of Berlin, or rather of Charlottenburg, "where the Berlinese is spoken better than in Berlin itself." The Philistine thinks Berlin with its stiff uniform streets, its stilted architecture, and unsociable inhabitants, the centre of the world. He doats on irony, which is only to be found in Berlin. He asks questions in season and out of season, and answers them himself. It was this sort of vulgarity which was hateful to Heine's soul, the

vulgarity engendered by self-conceit and ignorance, excluding all possibility of wide sympathies or noble aspirations. It is not merely the uneducated wealthy classes whom Heine would have visited with the soubriquet of Philistine: the term would include every one high or low whose sympathies admitted not of the reception of new and beautiful ideas. The Göttingen professors were arch-Philistines with all their profound learning: Philistines in their dogmatism and self-conceit, "there they stand unchanging and immovable, like the pyramids of Egypt, only that in the Göttingen pyramids there is no wisdom to unearth." The vulgar self-seeking German demagogues of his day, contrasting as they did with those of France who would go to war for an idea, were his pet aversion. It was the selfishness which Heine thought characteristic of Englishmen which called forth the numerous expressions of outspoken disgust that pain an Englishman even now to read. All the polish that the English pick up from their travels abroad he maintains to be mere outward veneer; the English learn to bow and scrape and affect the fashions of France; their heart remains English in all its repulsive egotism. Heine cites as an instance an Englishman whom he saw in a London tavern sprinkling sugar over his cauliflower in true French fashion; a sight which nearly knocked the waiter down; for since the Roman invasion of England it had never been heard that cauliflower had been prepared in any other way than by being boiled in water and served up without sauce, tasteless and plain. The same Englishman came up and most graciously began a conversation in French with the poet; and on the latter congratulating him on his courtesy and proficiency in the French tongue, the Englishman gravely assured him that he had only accosted him with a view to practise his French. Surely here if anywhere Heine is unfair. It may indeed be only since his time that the Germans have applied themselves vigorously to the study of the tongues, but certainly at the present day the great obstacle to an Englishman who would gain particularly in German is the laudable anxiety displayed by the Germans to pick up the accent and idioms of the English would-be alumnus in the tongue of Heine. Indeed, the present writer has on more than one occasion witnessed not without envy the absence of self-consciousness and *mauvaise honte* which has prompted a couple of German students who had evidently mastered their English grammar pretty completely as far as the irregular verbs to rush boldly into conversation in English. The result, if hardly commending itself to musical ears, may have possibly interested a philologist, and would have

gratified those who believe that English is the language of the future, even though they might not have been hereby led to reflect that the future destiny was near its accomplishment.

Again, in one of his letters from Heligoland, written in the year 1880, we find a similar expression of repulsion to England, and indeed to all Anglo-Saxon communities. He says he pines for rest and peace, and knows not where to find it. Shall he seek it in Germany? The vision of the police-agents ever on his track forbids it. In Russia? The Polar bears there are more dangerous than ever, since they have adopted civilization and kid gloves. In Italy? An Austrian sentinel stands before every citron-tree, and thunders forth a frightful "Who goes there?" "Or shall I go again to England and its hell of fogs, where I would not even hang in effigy, much more live in peace? One ought to be paid to live there; but instead of that one has to pay twice as much to exist in England as in any other place. Never more will I return to that vile land, where the machines are like the men, and the men like the machines. The din and the silence there alike give me the horrors. When I was introduced to the Governor of Heligoland, this wooden Englishman stood motionless before me for a few minutes without speaking a word, so that I involuntarily felt a disposition to inspect him from behind, to see if somebody had forgotten to wind him up." It may be some consolation to Englishmen to know that Heine felt that America would suit him still worse. "Where the most repulsive of all tyrants—the mob—exercises its coarse domination."

If it be good to see ourselves as others see us, perhaps the roving Britisher may find some satisfaction in the portraits which Heine gives us of the English abroad. For instance, while he was gazing at the statues of the grandees of the house of Austria in the Cathedral at Innsbrück, an English family entered into the church; a lean man agape with curiosity, his thumbs stuck into the armholes of his white waistcoat, holding in his mouth a leather-bound Murray's Guide-book. Behind him stepped the tall companion of his life—behind her a red-faced porter, stiff and powdered, his wooden hands laden with my lady's gloves, wild flowers and poodle.

"The son of Albion began to explain the statues to his lady, taking them in order as the Guide-book directed—only, unfortunately, he began at one end of the church when he should have begun at the other; and consequently he got into the most glorious puzzle, which was the more comical when he came to the statue of a woman whom he took for a man, and *vice versa*. He could not make out why

Rudolph von Habsburgh was represented in female costume, while Queen Mary had iron greaves and a large amount of beard. I came gladly to his aid with my little stock of knowledge, and remarked casually that perhaps the costume of the day demanded such representations; or it might be that the express will of the high personages represented, demanded that their statues should be executed thus, and on no account otherwise. So, for instance, it might happen that the present emperor might take it into his head to be represented in travelling costume, or even in swaddling clothes—who would have a word to say against it?

"The poodle barked critically, the lackey chuckled, his master blew his nose, and my lady remarked, 'a fine exhibition; very fine indeed.'"

The same unkindly feeling towards Englishmen appears when Heine speaks of Shakspeare. His Shakspeare criticism is extremely good; concise, intelligent, and sympathetic. But he regards Shakspeare as a phenomenon among Englishmen; as a phoenix hatched by some queer mistake upon English soil. "I know," he says, "a good Hamburg Christian who could never quite set his mind at rest because our Lörd and Saviour was by birth a Jew. I feel the same uncomfortable feeling when I reflect that William Shakspeare was, after all, an Englishman, and belonged to the most repulsive people whom God ever in his wrath created. What a disgusting nation, what a deadly-lively country! A country which the ocean would have swallowed long since had it not feared unpleasant effects on its digestion; its people a grey gaping monster, breathing nothing but oppressive vapours and deadly ennui, suré to string itself up one day or another with a colossal cable." He goes on to mark what has been dwelt upon by less poetical critics than himself, how favourable was the epoch in which Shakspeare passed his life for the production of a great poet. His queen was the idol of her subjects, and the chivalrous enthusiasm with which these regarded her was the outcome of that feudal epoch of chivalry whose setting sun cast a flood of glory on her stirring reign.

"The Protestant religion was waking men's thoughts into freedom, but had not as yet exercised a chilling influence upon art, by identifying sourness with holiness. Catholicism was vanquished in theory; but it lived with its full spell of enchantment in the fancy of mankind, and maintained itself intact in their habits, customs, and views. It was Puritanism which, flower after flower, succeeded in rooting up utterly the religion of the past, and in spreading like a gray mist over the

whole land that desolate melancholy which since then, robbed of its spirit and strength, has watered itself down to a lukewarm pietism. Just as it was with the religion of the England of that day, so was it also with her kingdom. The England of Shakspeare's day had not yet undergone that feeble transformation which is in fashion there at the present day, under the name of Constitutional Government—possibly to the advantage of European society in general, certainly not to that of art. With the blood of Charles the First, the great, the true, the last king, all poetry ran out of England's veins."

It may not unnaturally astonish us to find Heine's sympathies in such company when he elsewhere tells us that his whole life was a campaign in the service of freedom. The explanation seems to be, not that he loved tyranny more, but that he loved vulgarity less; that he saw, or fancied that he saw, in Puritanism the same spirit of petty minded jealousy and unwillingness to admit new and beautiful ideas as he tells us he saw in Republicanism. A passage from his critique on Portia in Julius Cæsar is worth quoting, both as illustrating his ideal form of Government and as giving some idea of his method of criticism. Everywhere we see the same hostility to a privileged class of nobles; everywhere the same admiration for one commanding genius who himself shall tower above a nation absolutely equal, as did Cæsar, as did Napoleon. "The main reason of Cæsar's popularity was the magnanimity with which he treated the people and his openheartedness. The people foresaw in him the founder of those better days which it was to live to see under the Emperors, for these secured to the people their first right, their daily bread. We willingly pardon the Emperors the sanguinary indifference with which they treated several hundred patrician families and mocked at their privileges. We recognise in them, not without gratitude, the destroyers of that *régime* of the nobles which deigned to give but a scanty wage to the people for the hardest services. We value them as mundane saviours who by abasing the exalted and by exalting the abased introduced a civil equality. Let the advocate of the past, the patrician Tacitus, pourtray with all his poetic poison the private vices and follies of the Cæsars; we know better—they gave the people victuals.

"Democracy and kingdom are not opposed as enemies as has been falsely maintained in our days. The best kind of democracy will be that in which a single man sits at the head of the state, as the incarnation of the popular will, just as God sits at the head of the government of

the world: under such a ruler, as the popular will incarnate, even as under God's majesty, flourishes man's truest equality, the most genuine form of democracy. Just so, aristocracy and democracy are not necessarily opposed; and this is well set forth in Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar, where the spirit of republicanism displays itself, even in the proudest aristocracy, in its most trenchant characteristics. These characteristics meet us in Cassius far more than in Brutus. We have often and often remarked that the spirit of republicanism consists in a certain narrow-minded jealousy which refuses to admit of anything above itself; in a certain dwarfish envy which dislikes anything prominent, which would rather not see virtue itself reproduced by a human being, fearing that the representative of virtue itself might make its lofty personality felt. Hence it is that the republicans of the present day are modesty-seeking deists, who would fain see in men nothing but wretched clay figures which have left the hands of a creator moulded after one form and should keep themselves far from any love of distinction and ambitious ostentation. The English republicans paid homage to a like principle, namely, Puritanism; and the same holds true of the old Roman republicans; they were Stoics." The above is a fair specimen of the way in which Heine interprets Shakspeare, seeing in him a powerful interpreter of the great principles which have ever prompted human men and women to action. Some of these characters he invests with a strange vividness: he has lived and joyed and suffered with them, and he talks of them as he talks of his visions, as living groups of figures, *quorum pars magna fuit*. Especially near to him did he feel the distracted Prince of Denmark, and special sympathy did he feel for poor Ophelia, of whom he speaks as if he knew her well: "She was a pretty blonde, and in her accents lay a charm which touched my heart deeply when I went to Wittenberg to say good-bye to her father. As for Hamlet the Dane, you all know him from boyhood up—how he loved the poor Ophelia, loved her more than a thousand brothers with their united loves could ever love her, and who lost his senses because his father's ghost appeared to him, and because the world was out of joint, and because he felt himself too weak to set it right, and because he had forgotten how to act for busy thinking in German Wittenberg, and because the choice was given to him of losing his senses or acting promptly, and because his mere man-nature was strongly predisposed to madness.

We know this Hamlet as well as we know our own face which we have so often seen in the glass, which is however less known to us

than we could believe; for if any one were to meet us in the street who looked just like ourselves, we should merely stare instinctively and with a secret terror at that strangely well-known face, and never notice that the features which we had just seen were our own."

Heine, poor fellow! had a feeling all his life of restlessness arising from being hunted, which makes him sympathise strongly with characters of the Hamlet type. Pathetically as he not seldom expresses this feeling, his humour pierces through his pathos. For instance, on the island of Norderney, to which he paid a visit in the year 1826, he hears that the shooting on the beach is very good. "As for myself," he writes, "I can't say that I appreciate it as much as I ought. A taste for the noble, the beautiful, and the good, can often be produced in men by education, but a taste for the chase is in the blood. When a man's ancestors (this was written before Darwin) have shot deer from time immemorial, their descendant finds pleasure in this his legitimate pursuit. But my ancestors are not so much to be numbered with the hunters as with the hunted, and if I'm asked to draw trigger upon the descendants of their ancient colleagues, my whole blood rises against the idea." But in spite of the thousand ills Heine was heir to—poverty, persecution, a morbidly sensitive disposition and bodily anguish—he never renounced his passionate love of life. In this, as in his love of nature, he is a true Greek. He loves the woods, and streams, and mountains with the passion of a poet, to whom all external nature is beautiful. Thrice happy does he deem himself should he, when happy or downcast, come upon Nature in a smiling or frowning mood corresponding to his own. But Nature suggests to him no intimations of immortality. The fairy legends of the past, which every storied castle and hill and dale recounted to his sympathetic soul, were the ample compensation which he had for his lack of the power to read such lessons in nature as those which Wordsworth read. Take for instance a few verses of the ballad of the Princess of Ilsenstein in the Harzreise:—

"I am the Princess Ilse,
In Ilsenstein I dwell;
Come with me to my castle,
There will we live right well.

"Thy weary head I'll fether
With crystal wavelets bright;
Thou shalt forget thy anguish,
Thou poor heart-weary wight!

“ By my white arms encircled,
On my white breast shalt lie ;
Shalt lie and dream of legends
Of quaint old Faëry.

“ And I will fondle and kiss thee,
E'en as I kissed before
My darling Kaiser Heinrich,
Whom none may fondle more.

“ The dead die once and wake not,
None lives but who hath life ;
And I am fair and blooming,
Hark to my heart's gay strife ! ”

Similarly he recoils from pain like a true Greek, and like a true Greek hesitates not to avoid it. Yet Heine was no coward; he had stood up to be shot at in a duel, and had more than once braved the vigilance of the Prussian police. “ I live,” writes he, “ and that is the great thing after all. Let others enjoy the fortune of having their tombstone crowned with garlands and bedewed with tears by their beloved. O, women, hate me, laugh me to scorn, refuse my advances, but do let me live! Life is only too humorously sweet, and life is such a charming web! 'Tis a dream of the wine-intoxicated god, who has sneaked out of the roystering company of his fellow gods *à la française*, and laid himself to sleep on a single star, and is himself unconscious that he has created what he dreams. And dream pictures present themselves often in such crazily-confused shapes; often again they're harmoniously reasonable. The Iliad, Plato, the battle of Marathon, Moses, the Medicean Venus, Strasburg cathedral, the French Revolution, Hegel, steam-packets, &c., are single fine thoughts in this creative divine dream; but it won't last long—it won't last long—and the god awakes and rubs his wakened eyes, and smiles—and our world has run away into nothing; aye, it has never existed!

“ Never mind, I am alive! Though I'm only a shadow-form in a dream, surely this is better than the cold, black empty vacancy of death. Life is the highest of boons, and the worst of evils is death.”

Heine's faults are many and serious: he is not unfrequently acrimonious, frivolous and flippant, and only too often coarse. But what we cannot help feeling as his great defect is his lack of sustained and dignified earnestness. Noble and true he was, and to his nobility and truth we may add his intense sympathy for everything that was suffering or persecuted. But precisely this note of

plaintiveness which attracts us to the poet makes us wish that the good fairy who inspired the poet had added to the sweet draughts of Castaly a few drops of iron tonic.

Many a long and weary year was the poor exile languishing in an agony from which his friends must have prayed the great Liberator to have relieved him!

No doubt had Heine been born in 1850 instead of 1800, he would have found half his occupation gone. Sedan and the Commune would have gone far to break his heart, but he would have found consolation in casting his eye over the Rhine and in witnessing the nobility of action which the late mighty struggle called forth in the German nation. One half of the task of his life was indeed wasted; for he expressly tells us that his great wish had been to make France and Germany understand each other better. But as a warrior in the army of the combatants for freedom, he was successful with all the success that humour wedded to passion can give. We have fallen into times when Christian or Turk, or Jew, or infidel, or heretic, can lay his head on his pillow, and expect to-morrow's post in tranquillity, if only his bills be paid. Let us not forget the memory of the poet-philosopher who made it the task of his life to make us the heirs of this state of society.

In the struggle against Philistinism, Heine would still find material for all his activity and all his intellect. With Mr. Matthew Arnold, he would refuse to recognise the end of life as gained in the greatest riches amassed, nay even in the greatest learning. He would agree that compulsory education is necessary to the formation of a good citizen; would deny that to be a good citizen is the whole aim and object of man. He would insist that religion is merely the personal homage which man renders to his Creator, and would deny that the Creator of all would turn His ear from the petition of any of His creatures if that petition were offered with pure intent. With the doctrine of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, he would only have agreed if it were defined what happiness consists in. A man must have his daily bread first; in other words, a competency; after that he must seek to know all that has been spoken best on the highest subjects, and to explain to himself why he agrees or dissents with this.

"Lay a sword on my bier," writes Heine, "for I have been a brave soldier in the war of the Liberation of Humanity."

H. A. STRONG.

SHOULD ABSENTEES BE TAXED?

THE last census of the United Kingdom informs us that in the year 1871 the residents there of colonial birth were more than twice as numerous as they were twenty years before. It is fair to assume that many of the adults among these were persons who, having amassed or inherited wealth in the land of their birth, used it to purchase a social place in countries where time and art have taught men to find pleasure in most things, as well as to form that pleasure into a system. Nor is this drain or its causes likely to decrease as time goes on. Even in old countries the extreme courses into which men of birth, ability, and established position have been driven by the surfeit of existence engendered by the absence of any definite aims in life, whether these felt once be satisfied, or were from the first wholly wanting, are daily making satirists merry and philosophers anxious. Satiety and restless discontent are peculiarly the birth of the sudden acquirement of fortune, and in a land unhappily not marked by a very general diffusion of finer purposes among a large part of its moneyed classes, may be expected to be unusually prevalent. It would be more surprising if these men should reconcile themselves to what they consider the vapid possibilities of Australian life, while aware there lies an untried world beyond with the promise of new fields, new ambitions, new resources. These birds of passage might perhaps be spared without much loss, but can we say the same of the fortunes they have realized and which go abroad with them? Naturally the question arises, Can that system be a proper one which permits men to abstract and lavish the produce of one land upon the people of another? This seeming injustice becomes indisputably very real when the former country is compelled to tax itself to secure to these deserters the safe and easy enjoyment of their property. Further, too, by the natural operation of good government and prosperity a valuable increment is being constantly added to the properties of those men, without contribution on their part to any of these causes. It is no wonder then that some action should be contemplated, and that the policy of checking the growth of these excrescent suckers on the national revenue should have lately received in this colony ministerial sanction. But the early dissolution of the Government which fathered the proposal forestalled even its discussion. The plain question at issue is, Does absenteeism entail an exhausting drain, and if so ought the absentee

to be compelled to refund a part of his income? To put it most broadly, do the advantages, previous or present, conferred by him on the State, fairly entitle him to exemption from our general taxation, or, on the contrary, should a special charge be levied in his case? For some time it was believed that as far at least as the economy of the question was concerned, it had been set at rest by the well-known article of M'Culloch in No. 85 of the *Edinburgh Review*. And perhaps that it still continues a vexed theme is due not so much to an unsound conclusion as an unexhausted one. M'Culloch, I venture to think, mistakes a step in the reasoning for the end. Roundly his assertion is, that absenteeism cannot impoverish a country. The rent or income payable to an absentee must be transmitted to him not in money but in commodities, either by exportation direct, or indirectly, the value of their sale elsewhere being paid him in bills of exchange. There arises then a demand for labor to produce exports up to the full value of the obligations to be liquidated. In M'Culloch's essay it reads indeed as if he supposed that to provide for these foreign payments, fresh and additional employment would be forced into existence. He says residence would "certainly occasion a diminution in the demand for labour." But whatever the presumption from his language, he can hardly have meant quite this. Clearly all he can have intended to argue for was, that the withdrawal of expenditure from the market of local demand would be fairly balanced by the consequent call for labour in the export market. Therefore, whether they spend their income at home or abroad, owners of property afford equal employment to home labour. And years after, rewriting his arguments, M'Culloch declared they "have yet to be answered."

The first sceptic who doubted this doctrine and proved his doubts was Senior. He grants that all who derive their income from a country which does *not* export raw produce, cannot possibly spend their incomes abroad until they have first spent them at home. That is, under these circumstances, their income must be sent to them in the shape of manufactures. But in countries which do export raw produce, he shows that the wages fund may, and mostly does suffer through such non-residence. His proof of this important qualification of the old theory, is clearly and conclusively set out in his *Political Economy*.* I shall therefore only discuss the position which Senior has conceded.

In the first place, it is evident, if the proceeds of an estate

*Pp. 155, 156.

are consumed on it unproductively, i. e. without replacement, the exports to absentees likewise leave the country without an equivalent in imports. In neither case is there any addition to the wealth of the people. On the one side labour is employed in raising commodities for idle consumption within the country, on the other in raising commodities to be sent gratuitously out of the country. Each in theory results in a total loss. If then it can be shown that any, the least advantage may accrue to production from expenditure in one place rather than another, it becomes obvious that a general unproductive outlay, unadvisable always, assumes a specially aggravated aspect in the case of an absentee. And certainly more ways than one suggest themselves by which much of an expenditure, to all appearance lost, is rescued for profitable use in the place where it is received. I may mention it is no part of my purpose to touch upon the controversy as to the propriety in fact of the epithets productive and non-productive. I am willing to assume for argument's sake that the property holder yields little or nothing in return for his consumption. But it will be found I think that out of his payments much, by the action of ordinary economic laws, may find its way to the fund for the productive employment of industrial labour; much more may be saved for beneficial accumulation by the recipients; and further that the very retaining this income for use in any place will confer no insignificant advantage.

M'Culloch maintains there is but one fund available for the wage-receiver. This the latter takes either directly from the hand of the property owner, or from his agent, in return for commodities required to be sent abroad for the payment of his principal. But whether spent in the local market or the export market, the sum is the same, and once spent is dissipated for ever.

Now it appears this can only be so on the supposition that all the wants of the idle resident consumers are supplied in kind by their own tenantry. For on the appearance of the least germ of commercial dealing, the character and the amount of the fund to be distributed in wages become radically changed. But everybody's consumption *must* be partly drawn from foreign sources. If we take the dwellers in the United Kingdom, we shall have a long list of articles wholly or in part imported. Amongst them are corn, cattle, wine, tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, silk, nearly all minerals except coal and iron, and the raw staples of leather, calico, and woollen goods. Now to get these or any of them, manufactured or raw produce must be sent out in exchange to an equal amount.

Suppose (a moderate estimate), one-third of a person's consumption be derived from abroad, on living at home, a foreign trade springs up to the extent of one-third of his income, a full return in foreign commodities coming in for that third. Take an income of £30,000, if the owner resides abroad, the country engages in an export trade to the extent of £30,000, but without any return; if he resides at home, it trades with foreign customers to the extent of £10,000, receiving in exchange a full equivalent in £10,000 worth of goods imported. Thus in this latter case, two-thirds of the total income are directly expended upon wages (non-productive, I may grant), and another third employed in purchasing labour to produce goods for export. Back again for these come imports capable of purchasing labour to the amount of, say another third. His income therefore, estimated in thirds, purchases four batches of labour. What on the other hand, is the case of the absentee? His income goes, no doubt, to buy manufactures to be sent out in lieu of money. But nothing is made by it; once paid away, nothing further remains available for wages. Of course scrutinised critically the gain in the former instance consists simply in this, that one-third of the income furnishes wages for, what for the present may be counted, ulterior productive labour, while of the absentees' income, nothing whatever is so applied. I say ulterior, because if wealth be considered, I can see no substantial distinction between idle consumption, and (the case of absentees), production for idle consumption. Much of the fallacy is, I conceive, brought in by rapid argument shifting. It is admitted that anyone who consumes French goods in England does as much service to the latter as if he consumed only her hardware and cottons. It is also admitted that an absentee must have his income remitted in, say, hardware and cottons; therefore wherever he dwells, the demand for native commodities being equal, it is assumed the gain to the industries of the country is the same. But the resident does what is identical with laying out (in addition to the two-thirds already expended), one-third of his income on English hardware and cottons, and again the same amount on bringing in French wines and silks to a consumist in the country. That it all *may* go unproductively, does not affect the reasoning at this point, which only purports to show that residence may actually increase the funds applicable to the payment of domestic or industrial services in the country.*

* It appears, too, that if revenue be destined to fall ultimately into idle hands, the longer and more winding the channel of its descent, the more are the opportunities of saving, and the greater may be the possible gain of the nation.

The objection started at the outset to M'Culloch's theory, and the mode in which he met it shows at once the extremes the non-injurious argument may lead men into and the hasty judgment he was capable of forming on some occasions. A foreign tribute, urged his opponents, would have precisely the same effect as you claim for this absentee drain. The cases are quite distinct, replied M'Culloch; the tribute, if stopped, will return into the pockets of the people, but the rents of absentees must be spent somewhere or other. But the question was not as to what would happen if the tribute ceased, but as to the effect at the moment. In fairness he should have said, precisely the same until one payment or the other came to an end.

His answer seems really to amount to saying that a tribute taken out of the pockets of the idle members of the community would have no worse result than the remittance of rent abroad. To a great extent it is found tributes may be, and are so paid; yet who would defend them on such a plea? But if Absenteeism is only as bad as this, the very point at issue at once comes up: is there no plan by which a part of these remittances may be diverted into the pockets of the people who "would know how to use them?" It may be added that if tributes are not general at present, we are not yet arrived at such piping times of peace that many nations can do without the services of a standing army. If then there be any special gain in simply manufacturing, we have a plan disclosed by which the loss on the support of an army may be brought to a minimum. Send the troops abroad and we shall presently be obliged to set up manufactures in order to send them their subsidies. We might at once make a beginning on a small scale. Let England support the troops in the Irish establishment, and similarly Ireland those in England, and they may be made in a measure to pay for their own keep.

Again, when M'Culloch argued that ultimately it mattered nothing where an absentee spent his means, as they became totally extinguished without return, he was contending for the monstrous paradox that the resident landlord and his family consumed all the corn and cattle raised by his tenantry, and consumed nothing else. But in the first place it is only the very limited part applied to his family's immediate support that can strictly be called barren. Indeed, it is probable that the greater part of the outlay of even the hardest workers is unproductive. The disposal of the large surplus left after supplying their actual needs is out of sight, and must be judged on other grounds. And secondly, the landlord's

expenditure does not carry with it this unfruitful character wherever it goes. Assume even that it is all devoted to satisfying his personal desires. Much the larger part must go in remunerating personal services or into the tills of the shopkeepers. The savings of these persons, outside the profitable accumulations of employers, form the great bulk of the productive capital of the country. And as this expenditure passes from class to class, and from seller to buyer, the margin of profit, constantly demanded and constantly accruing, (all taken in the last resort out of the pocket of the consumer), forms the natural basis of the new fund for investment. All these savings serve to enrich the country in which they are made—if at home, then at home; if abroad, then abroad.* Nor are these small earnings to be despised. France has latterly of all countries had the largest calls for money, and is yet the one who has applied most seldom for English assistance. At the same time, that country is honourably distinguished above all others in Europe, perhaps on the globe, in that property is there found distributed most generally among the bulk of the population. Out of their savings, individually insignificant, the German indemnity has been paid, and the Suez canal constructed. I may add, as wages have by rule a tendency to increase, profits to decrease, in the future the wage-earners must be more and more looked to as the main fountain of capital supply.

Nor have we done with the possible gain to the place of receipt of income. Suppose the absentee himself to devour or wear every jot of his income. Still he cannot do so all at once, since the payments to him are usually made instantly they become due. He must husband his income at least for six months if he receive it half-yearly; for three months if quarterly. Meantime the balance of these drafts through the medium of the banks, being placed in the loan market, of the place of residence, is made available for productive purposes.

* The author of the article in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, summing up the case for the absentees, can see no cause of anxiety for Englishmen, as all the savings effected would make their way "home," I presume, to London, the money market of the world. It is a satisfaction to find that this shameless argument, which counsels apathy to Englishmen on the ground that, even if injustice be done, England would profit by it, is not more shameless than unsound. London is not resorted to, nor are any accumulations as a rule transmitted thither, unless in the event of a deficiency of native capital, or of the rate of interest offered being too low to draw forth the hoards hidden in the country, otherwise we should have the absurdity of capital passing over desirable investments at the very doors, and retreating to a land which promises nearly the lowest rate of interest in the market, the same capital shortly to be remitted back with cost enhanced by the process.

And before we underrate this, it should be considered that this is exactly the benefit the country reaps from the existence of banks of deposit. These latter certainly find the business so profitable that they are willing to pay a premium to people for the use of their money for a few months, or weeks, or even days. On many grounds then, it appears there are certain profits of value to be made by those who dwell at what I may call the theatre of expenditure.

The argument of the absentee party seems open to correction on another side. Though in the case of absence or residence alike the same amount should be spent *in*, it by no means follows it will be spent *on* the country. If the agent buys £20,000 worth of cotton goods in order to send his patron his rents, it is true there is a nominal outlay to that extent. But out of this sum the labourers only receive that portion which represents the worth of the labour and capital applied in working up the virgin material, that is the additions made to its original value by the skill and industry of the country. As for that portion which represents the cost of the raw product, it is no more spent on the labourer than if the agent were to buy the cotton in New Orleans and send it in bales direct to his landlord in Paris. On the other hand, if the landlord be resident, the entire sum will go in providing commodities to be consumed by the people. The wages-fund in the one case gains the cost of manufacturing, in the other the whole value of the finished product—the cost of manufacturing *plus* the cost of growth. I must here repeat what I have said before, that there is now no question as to the nature of this consumption. The simple matter at issue being—is the sum available for enjoyment in the country greater or less as the property-holder may happen to live at home or abroad?

Into another extraordinary fallacy has the heat of dispute betrayed M'Culloch. It is of little importance, he maintains, where revenue is spent, provided the principal be not tampered with. We are not told how the wear and tear of capital is to be replaced. But assuming it performs the feat of repairing itself, is existing capital never to be added to? And what is the source of fresh supplies? Is it not simply the savings from revenue. The revenue of the present is surely the harvest out of which is to come the seed of the funds for the future. Capital is saved income, as all income is potential capital.

These mistakes are a good sample of the modes of thought which abound in the English economy. One of the most eminent of living

British teachers of the science remarked lately that in treating it, he had to reconsider almost the whole of the English method. And in this their faults are the faults of their nation. A mere idea is hateful to the true Englishman, nor will he consider a generalization until he can see it take shape as a *fact*. He denounces abstract theories as abstract fictions, allowing a concrete reference only. He admits, for the time being, one object, and but one end, to fill the field of his mental vision. His is the least eclectic of nations. He despises prevision, and disbelieves contingency. All that he does is excellent of its kind, but then it looks in only one direction. In building up the fabric of government, his crowning creation, as if thinking of one of them at a time, he has made each branch of the legislature isolated, contradictory, and self-supporting, competent to crush each other and the constitution without let or hindrance if so inclined. It subsists at this moment, (and the same holds wherever it has been introduced), by a mutual compromise, by a tender consideration for reciprocal interests. The Englishman is the greatest coloniser the world has ever seen or is ever likely to see. Yet no reasonable man who values the welfare of the motherland and her children would venture to set down the rights and powers of either as against the other. At any moment we may wake to find the "golden link of the crown" all too weak for the centrifugal forces at work within her cluster of colonies. And so with his philosophy and with his political economy. He turns with disgust from a hint that a judgment on the possible variations discoverable from a study of principles, might perhaps modify his conclusions. With straightforward pertinacity, looking neither to right or left, he follows out his single point to its single issue.* His economy consists of parallel lines of generally solid reasoning, but in which the interplay of different elements is for the most part neglected.† M'Culloch saw that the evils attributed to absenteeism were exaggerated, were even in great part non-existent in the form in which they were commonly enunciated, and angrily refused to listen any further to what he descended to style the "yelping" of the dissenters from his views. Certainly, he was thereby spared the inconvenience of finding him-

* A characteristic feature in the eloquence of Charles James Fox, the most Saxon of British orators. He was in consequence as bad a politician as he was excellent in debating.

† J. S. Mill must certainly be excepted. But his most illustrious pupil, Professor Cairnes, in an Article in the 14th volume of the *Fortnightly Review* on Comte's views of political economy, combats throughout the insistence of the latter on what by a convenient Gallicism is called the solidarity of its phenomena.

self occasionally wrong, but his essay and the subject have unfortunately suffered in proportion.

The increased export business which some apologists for absenteeism point to as a compensation for its evils may really be injurious. And not only may it be unremunerative in itself, but it may affect prejudicially the whole export trade already existing. I do not mean merely where the exports go out wholly without return, but in cases where they do exchange for a certain proportion of imports. Suppose a non-manufacturing country suddenly saddled with large foreign obligations, an export trade existing but not adequate to the demand, that is the demand abroad for her commodities being less than her indebtedness. Assume her obligations to amount to ten millions, the foreign goods, (all they can pay for with their own products), consumed by the inhabitants amounting to nine millions, the extra million let us say being required to meet various debts due by her. The account must be settled in some manner, and liquidation by specie is of course out of the question. If the demand for her commodities be already just satisfied, she must extend her production up to that verge which, if it were passed, other nations would find it remunerative to come in and compete. But facilities being given, the demand for the products of any country is a fixed quantity. She must send more abroad, and yet nobody may wish to buy more from her. She has done all she could to create trade in the one healthy way, viz., by opening a channel between the markets of natural demand and the markets of natural supply, and she has failed. She must submit to be a loser in what is called the arbitration of exchange, and further cheapen her goods, and as a preliminary introduce a general readjustment of values. Profits and wages will fall, rents will rise, and the foreign customer will alone reap the benefit of all these sacrifices. If increased foreign contributions were demanded from, for instance, Iceland or Fiji, the two islands, the one from inefficient industry, the other from natural disadvantages, would probably be impoverished to a disastrous extent. These are extreme cases, but between them and the wealthiest lie states of all grades in fertility and industrial progress, on which an over exportation must press with a severity proportioned to their defective powers of production and supply.

The main question I propose to deal with now presents itself for investigation—if the foregoing be true, should then absentees be taxed? And first I conclude the answer to this can never come even in part from the voice of abstract or theoretic right. A

certain, as it is a primary indication of civil advance exhibits itself when the dictates of what are called natural right and natural equity give way to arbitrary sanctions and the precepts of positive justice. Many see and more hope for the approach of a time when the majesty of law shall have wholly dethroned the primitive instincts that swayed the early world. Civilization may not anywhere have become so educated or so pure that the tradition of a prerogative of nature can yet wholly be discarded, but at least it is beginning to be recognised that an appeal to original right is as much out of place in the plea of the property holder to do as he pleases with his own, as in the claim of the State to clothe this property with the fictitious character of a popular trust. Outside the tribunal of conscience, the one public right is public utility; and bye-and-bye we must be prepared to see this imprescriptible principle carry its scrutiny into all the relations and facts of society, domestic and civil. What reply then does an appeal to this, the sole valid criterion, give in the case of absenteeism? At the outset the issue is considerably narrowed.

The income of the absentee may of course be drawn from either real or personal sources, but it can hardly be seriously proposed to tax the profits of personal property. Apart from the fact that personal securities may in most instances be realised so easily that they could in a moment banish themselves from the sphere of taxation, features of grave difficulty would be found to attend its collection. Experience has proved the hopelessness of assessing an income tax which shall at once be equally just and single in its incidence. These difficulties, and others as serious, would present themselves in the impost under discussion. To estimate or reach absentee investments would be a fiscal achievement probably much beyond the abilities of the most ingenious of draftsmen, while the profits to be made would put a premium upon dishonest yet facile evasion. A fictitious name or a fictitious firm would make the charge a nullity. A few upright men would tell the truth and suffer accordingly. Moreover, it would be a singular inconsistency to pursue a policy of inviting capital from abroad coincidently with a policy of taxing not only much of that which is already in the country, but in practice positively *all the foreign lenders as well*. We raise loans to enrich the country and then proceed to mulct the property improved. It must be accepted that the landed returns are solely to be visited. How will it work in their case?

A tax upon land is one which has always received the special

condemnation of economists, and this for the peculiar generic laws which govern raw production. An interference acting to the injury of this latter, strikes not at the well-being but at the subsistence of the people. A tax upon land is not indeed to be mistaken for a tax upon rent, a confusion from which even Senior is not free. The latter falls altogether upon the landlord, but a general land tax is a tax upon produce, upon commodities. This simply arises from the fact that the tax makes no distinction between the highest and the lowest grades of land under cultivation. Of course the effect of this is to raise the price of all the necessities of life, or, in the language of Ricardo, the tax falls upon the consumer.* Also, it must be borne in mind that the same result, the rise in price, would be brought about equally by a tax on a tenth of the producers, (provided some of them cultivated the margin of least fertility), and a tax upon the whole body. A tax which affects a thousand acres of the worst land in cultivation is no worse than one which affects but a hundred acres of the same quality. Of importance anywhere, these considerations become doubly important in a protection-bound country. We foster manufactures (as we have a perfect right to do) at the expense of all trade, and particularly the import trade, but then we must be prepared to take the consequences in the dear-ness of, amongst other things, imported breadstuffs. By protection we deprive ourselves of the one resource by which the effect of the tax in raising the price of raw produce, might at all events be mitigated—perhaps for a time postponed.

* To this Senior demurs. He contends a general tax on agricultural production would ultimately leave the price unaffected, inasmuch as the consumption and the production of raw produce would be 'alike diminished, and, according to the law of rent, the price of produce. No doubt if such a tax were to be abolished the greater cheapness of food might cause such an increase in the numbers of the population that ultimately the price of produce might rise to its old proportions. But, meantime, a whole generation would be benefited. If, on the contrary, the tax were now for the first time imposed, it would entail comparative suffering certainly on the generation first subjected to it, and the enhanced price would probably last. He goes on to observe, "That no person would diminish his consumption of corn in consequence of the rise in its price is therefore a premise necessary to the conclusion we are combating." Quite true, and because the consumption *must* be diminished it is that the tax presses with biting hardship on the poor consumer. These, he admits, must, if the rise continued in England, turn from wheaten bread to cheaper subsistence; in the north to oatmeal; in the south to potatoes;—and, in such a case, the tax does not affect the consumer! The price can only be kept down by the lower, *i.e.*, the more numerous classes, refraining from purchasing; if tempted by seeming cheapness they begin to bargain, the price at once rises out of their reach—a veritable Tantalus' cup in modern disguise.

These considerations suggest too the present impolicy of taxing absentees. It will hardly be disputed that in a new country none of the usual inducements to collect capital can be dispensed with, but if possible, should rather be multiplied and augmented. It may be useful to dwell a little on the special evils inflicted on the working classes by a scarcity of capital. Of the three instruments of wealth, labour, land, and capital, Australia does and will possess one in abundance for many generations to come. Of the other two, capital and labour, she stands in stringent need. The crawling growth of Australia at this moment, scarcely moving, as she seems to be, is due only in part to the high price of labour. This of itself could never account for it; labour may be very high-priced and yet highly effective. Indeed Brassy, in his "Work and Wages," maintains that wages measured in efficiency are much the same all the world over. To at least an equal extent is Australia retarded by the high price of capital. If labour sells dear it is much as anything else, because it costs much. That by an influx of capital, though labour became cheaper, wages would rise, *i.e.*, commodities would fall, provided the cost of raw produce did not by a corresponding leap bridge the difference in values, is not and cannot be matter of dispute. If wages, measured in money, fall from eight shillings to six, and yet from a lowering of prices the labourer should get as much for six shillings as he formally got for nine, the fall of two shillings would confer on him signal benefit. And in another way, too, the labourer would gain. The increase in the quantity of capital seeking employment will introduce new purchasers into the market of labour demand, and the gain from the competition will mostly be his. Now a tax upon property, whether in the hands of absentees or residents, must operate as a strong discouragement to capitalists. By holding before them inducements of all kinds, among others unrestricted rights in the full enjoyment of the proceeds, it is likely we should gain much more than could be derived from sparse parings off the consumption of a few proscribed drones. If we establish the tax there might be fewer absentees,—there would be fewer investors.

It may be urged that the funds required to carry on government should to a large extent be levied off property, a view certainly shown to be reasonable, particularly in the abstract. Assuredly the toils of labour should be lightened, and hard industry made pleasanter. In general terms the chief interest of the labourer in his government is one of protection and support in his exertions; of the man of wealth,

protection in ease and pleasure—favours due to the continued toil of the working man. Therefore, as the sacrifices of the latter are infinitely less than those of the former, taxation it is said should be regulated accordingly. To a property tax no doubt we shall one day come ; but what is true of an old and settled country, where it is likely most fortunes are held, not that they may fructify but that they may be spent, may not obtain in all places. Here the case greatly differs. Owing to the high rate of interest, most part of all large incomes assume the shape of capital. A tax, therefore, of this complexion at the present time might be not so much a tax on property as a tax on investments and their profits. These at least we must take care not to touch. To tax them would be tantamount to lessening the current rate of interest offered for investment in the country. Money scarcer then and dearer would be one of the worst as it would be one of the earliest results of this policy.

A tax on absentees is naked protection. Men buy foreign goods because they are cheaper and better than those of their own land. Men go to foreign countries because they can live there more cheaply or more agreeably than at home. "Tax foreign goods," cries the protectionist, "that the foreigner may not use his natural advantages and undersell us." Cries the politician, "Tax the enjoyments and charms of more favoured places, tax the inducement for the absentee to take his money abroad, and to keep him at home bring down all countries level with the disadvantages of his own. It is worth noting, too, that it is not only protection, but protection of an indefensible kind. It is admitted commercial protection is an evil. Still, it is argued, an evil which only requires time and free play to right itself. But can bounties on incomes enjoyed in this country be trusted finally to cure the evil they at first essay to balance ? Would it not be wiser to seek to check it by increasing the sum of attractions within the place itself ? But this is a process slow and troublesome, and I fear quite too little vindictive to recommend itself much to the humanity of the day.

Can a country which gave a man a fortune justify to any extent a lien upon it afterward ? Honour might plead something in its vindication, still the obligation is not without some limit. If they are found to have returned to the country many times over the amount of their final charge, these fortune-winners may be admitted to have earned some title to their retiring allowance. It is monstrous to cry out against it as dishonest and unjust, that somebody should draw away from the country the interest of £20,000,

when perhaps to amass that sum he had first spent it there ten times over. This matter is worth a little consideration. The end of all production is consumption, and capital is but that part of wealth which is consumed productively,—so consumed that it replaces itself with a profit. If then the proprietor during the process of accumulation has allowed his capital to be consumed, and reproduced again and again, his services in the past may be shown to be out of all proportion to any loss that may accrue from his retired income, even spent idly as this latter may be. If in the case I have taken, the absentee has contributed capital of the kind called “fixed,” the country is his debtor in proportion as this capital is more or less required, and may take more or less time to wear out. If he leaves the country, he leaves it at all events with twenty thousand pounds’ worth of improvements. It is true he gets paid for the use of them, but that they are there for use is due to him. And if the capital is “circulating,” the gain is greater still. Before he made it sufficient to retire upon, his money must have been turned and returned with profit. Generally once a year—perhaps oftener—he must have spent nearly all his means upon the country productively. Meantime they have paid wages, yielded profits, allowed savings to be made. Is this to be discouraged? To repeat a former illustration, if the banks find it for their interest to accept a loan of money for the shortest period, on the same principle the country should find itself permanently enriched by the mere use of capital for a few years, even if it were then (which in this instance it is not), to be finally withdrawn. I cannot help thinking the more fully we examine the matter, the more we shall be led to reverse the old adage, and pronounce in the present case we should be liberal before being just.

There is one objection I have not remarked upon, which may seem to many the weightiest and most obvious of all. An absentee tax would be exceptional legislation, and that of a penal character, a special tax upon a special class. To this I have not alluded, not from any difficulty in proving that it would act so, but because the whole argument for and against class legislation must have been opened up. Those who advocate this imposition do not, so far as I have seen, pretend to deny this effect. Indeed, to state the tax simply is, according as it is viewed from one side or the other, most powerfully to recommend or condemn it. But this leads me to ask what, if this change is decided for, should be the principle of assessment? Equality of sacrifice, the grand law of Adam Smith, is of

course excluded in terms. Are we then roughly to tax the gross proceeds of this kind of property? But this would be to tax the stake held by the absentee. And even if it were just, would it be wise to tax on a sliding scale, as against him, the quantity of interest a man may create for himself in the country. We shall be driven back, it appears, upon the difficult, hazardous, and unequal expedient of endeavouring to put a value on the amount of protection afforded by Government to property, and assessing its contributions in proportion.

This much for the economy of the question; the moral aspect is different and cannot be examined here. Though important, the social as distinguished from the financial gains of residence in this land are not yet sufficiently weighty to merit extended reference. But one thing may be here said. It is not possible to represent too strongly the ignoble part they choose who carry away their wealth to places, which, for the most part they can add little to, and still less can adorn. They hasten to the delightful associations of the old world, to repose on the creations of others' toils and struggles, to reap what other men have sown. Indolent as selfish, they will not strive and suffer a little themselves, that they might leave to their children and their nation, a heritage such as they may desire to take—a gift from their forerunners, without work or merit of their own. These blind minds pass by not only merely their own people, but chances as great as ever fell to the lot of men. The nations whose favours they are courting have long worn for themselves a channel broad and deep, and between its banks their course runs and will run, until—it may be shortly—they lose themselves for a while in the infinite ocean of the eternal Past. These men might have stayed to watch and foster, perhaps to mould, plainly great destinies just beginning to unfold in a new land. For here a new experiment is being worked out, not merely what the individual may become, what mind or what body, an Australian sun and soil will bring out of the old north race. But representative institutions are being put upon their trial. We have to find out how far the spirit and form of the republic are possible in the modern world. It may fail in America, for America has perhaps broken the historic order of political growth. Here, however, the trial would be regular, complete, and unembarrassed. In this work they might have taken part if they had waited. Better and wiser then, surely, to abandon this empty pretence of living in the dreams of a dying past, and turn their hopes to the rising promise of the future,

In conclusion, I may say I have endeavoured throughout to treat the question in a strictly scientific manner. I have tried to show that while the residence of proprietors may confer some advantage, yet any attempt to compulsorily retain them or a part of their incomes might, if not abortive, militate seriously against important interests. But the whole matter is so nicely balanced, that the least bias may easily exaggerate the force of the argument for one side or the other.

JOHN WINTHROP HACKETT.

THE ROMANCE OF AN INDIAN EMPRESS.

WHEN the Prince of Wales, in his triumphal progress through India reached Agra, the once proud capital of the magnificent Mogul Emperors, a grand illumination and general festival were held in celebration of the event. The scene, for the time, realised the most gorgeous fancies of the *Arabian Nights*, or the splendid visions of Southey's wild and wonderful poetical romances. Myriads of flaming points flashing out upon the lustrous Indian midnight revealed, in far-extending lines of fire, the outlines of Agra's matchless structures—its bazaars and forts, its battlemented castles and Alhambra-like palaces, its sculptured temples and marble mausoleums—structures that, for their perfection of architectural design and lavish magnificence of ornamentation, might fitly have been reared by the hands of the Djins who erected in a single night the magic towers of Aladdin. But there was one marked exception to the universal festal rejoicing—one dark spot conspicuously obtruding amidst the bewildering splendours of the hour. The special correspondent of the *Argus* found his attention particularly arrested by this strange and solitary blank. "There was an attempt," he writes, "to illuminate the Taj Mahal, but this was a ghastly failure. I hope that such a desecration of perhaps the loveliest building in the world will never again be attempted." A ghastly failure and a desecration! The words seem singularly out of place in a narrative that fairly overflows with the spirit of joyous abandonment. But there is a world of historical significance and romantic allusion conveyed in them. Failure! Of course it was a failure: for would not the unhallowed attempt to light up in honour of a pale-faced infidel the palace-tomb of *Her*, his adored empress, move with indignation the very bones of the fiery-souled Shah Jehan who sleeps beneath? Nay, even stir with resentment the dust of his gentler consort reposing beside her buried lord?

"Even from the tomb the voice of nature cries;
Even in our ashes live their wonted fires."

Whilst the family intrigues to secure the succession to the Golden Throne and the mighty Empire of Hindustan were running highest in the palace of Jehanguir at Agra, Prince Khoorum, the third of the Emperor's sons, seized every fitting occasion to win the chief place

in his father's favour. His eldest brother, Khosru, like Absalom, too eager to seize the superb inheritance that would have fallen to him in due course of nature, had madly raised the standard of rebellion against his father and sovereign. The retributive result to him was a lifelong imprisonment, and a load of chains, whose weight was in no degree diminished by the circumstance of their being made of solid gold. But there also came of his unfilial revolt a sudden and premature death, remarkably similar, in many of the incidents attending it, to the mysterious fate that befel the unhappy Carlos, son of Philip the Sanguinary, in the inner chambers of the Escorial, at Madrid. Between Prince Khoorum and the dazzling prize of empire there then only stood Prince Parvaez, second son of Jehanguir. But Parvaez, although as brave a soldier as ever engaged in wild Mahratta warfare, lacked both the keen intellect and the Machiavellian craft of his younger brother. He had not those arts of courtly flattery and pliant submission which enabled Khoorum from his earliest days to make himself the favourite of both his father and his grandfather, the imperial-souled Akhbar. And then, the ladies of the Emperor's zenana had a very deep interest in directing the intrigues arising out of the question of the succession. Khosru's mother, a woman of fierce passions, finding that her darling son had fallen into irretrievable disfavour, drank from a poisoned cup, and so died, in an agony of mingled despair and grief. But the mother of Khoorum was a woman of a very different stamp. She plied all the arts of oriental feminine strategy to secure the succession for her son; and, as the crowning act in her deep-laid scheming, married him to a niece of the powerful Nour Mahal, so famed in song and legend and history as the Light of Jehanguir's harem and the sharer of his Golden Throne. From the date of that marriage the succession of Khoorum became almost as certain as anything contingent in human affairs can be.

The star of Khoorum being thus in the ascendant, all the most difficult enterprises of State were entrusted to his charge. In 1612, whilst still a young man, he was sent with a force of 20,000 warriors into the Deccan to quell the chronic revolts of the restless Mahratta chieftains there. He fought seventeen pitched battles against Umra Sing, Rana of Mewar, and compelled him to lower thenceforth to the Mogul standard, emblazoned with the crescent, the crimson banner which for 800 years had waved proudly over the heads of the independent warrior-tribe of the Ghelotes. The joy of Jehanguir at this brilliant achievement of his favourite son knew no bounds. A

new principality had been added to his already boundless dominions. A fierce race, governed by their own hereditary princes through long centuries back—whose boast it was that they had never beheld the face of a king of Hindustan, never witnessed the presence of an invader in their mountain strongholds, never made submission to any living human being—had been reduced to obedience. The news of the conquest of Judea, carried home to the palace on the Palatine Hill by Titus, the conqueror, himself, was not sweeter music in the ears of Vespasian than was the account of the campaign against the Ghelotes of Mewar in the ears of Jehanguir. Four years later a similar and still greater expedition was sent into the Mahratta country under the command of Prince Khoorum.

With the object of being nearer to the theatre of war, and assisting his beloved son with his counsel, the Emperor himself accompanied the expedition as far as Mandu in Malwa. It so happens that we have a description from the pen of a fine old English worthy, who was an eye-witness of the scenes of this unmatched imperial progress. Sir Thomas Roe was sent by James the First as ambassador to the Great Mogul in 1615, and his chaplain has left us a record of all the marvels witnessed by the Englishmen in the gorgeous East.* The march of Jehanguir is described as a triumphal procession on a scale of incredible magnificence. The Emperor rode in an English carriage, presented to him by the Ambassador in the name of King James his master. It was a London state-coach of the newest fashion, very fine and costly and cumbrous, but yet not sufficiently imposing for a Great Mogul; therefore Jehanguir had it taken to pieces and re-constructed by native artizans, substituting nails of solid gold for the original brass ones, and a lining of flowered silver brocade for the original Chinese velvet. Before entering this regal vehicle every morning, the Emperor showed himself to his courtiers and followers. His dress literally blazed with diamonds and priceless jewels from turban to slippers. Sir Thomas's Chaplain tells us, in his quaint English, that "from the Emperor's turban, which was surmounted with its plume of heron's feathers, there hung on one side a rubie unset, as big as a walnut; on the other side a diamond as great; in the middle, an emerald like a heart, much bigger; and the embroidered buskins were all set with jewels, with the toes sharp and turning up." Immediately after the Emperor rode the Empress Nour Jehan in a coach constructed after the pattern of the English one by native workmen, but with still costlier

* "A Voyage to East India": by Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain. London: 1665.

materials. The vast retinue of ambassadors, courtiers, guards, and attendants of all grades followed in due order. The imperial procession almost rivalled in its extent and splendour the march of Xerxes into Greece. When the Leskar (or Imperial camp) was pitched, it presented the appearance of a vast and glorious city twenty miles in circumference; and so admirable was the arrangement that every soul in the immense array, whether he were a noble, a shopkeeper, or a sutler, knew the precise spot upon which he was to encamp: all details being fixed with reference to the position of the Emperor's pavilion. This matchless structure gleamed in the distance like a fairy palace raised by enchantment. It looked to the eye like a solid and stately castle, occupying a height in the centre of the encampment. Its towers and battlements, surmounted by numberless cupolas and minarets after the Oriental fashion, shone dazzling in the Indian sunlight as if the whole fabric were of solid gold. Such were the pomps of empire in the palmy days of the Great Moguls.

Once more the Mogul prowess was successful, even against the fierce and warlike Mahrattas. Prince Khoorum subdued the wild tribes into submission; stormed and captured the fortified city of Ahmednuggur, and brought Malek Ambhar, the revolted chieftain of the Deccan, in chains to the feet of the Emperor. Returning thus flushed with victory, it is no marvel that Khoorum was hailed by his father with the lofty title of Shah Jehan (King of the World), under which name he is best known in history. In 1621 a third expedition of a like character was also conducted successfully by the young warrior, now the acknowledged generalissimo of the Mogul armies and heir to the Golden Throne.

But just when Shah Jehan's star was shining most brilliantly, a bank of ominous clouds arose in his sky and almost quenched its splendour. A younger brother of the Prince's, Schehriar by name, was growing up to manhood; and the all-potent Nour Mahal cast her eyes upon him as a fitting husband for her daughter by her first marriage with Sheer Afghan. The marriage once consummated, Nour Mahal began a series of deeply-planned intrigues to displace Shah Jehan from the succession, and instal Schehriar in his place. Wielding absolutely unbounded power over her imperial consort, the wily Light of the Harem induced him to send Shah Jehan on one more warlike expedition. The Persians had just made a descent on Afghanistan and had captured Candahar. Shah Jehan was commanded to expel the invaders. Divining the motive for the

commission to undertake so perilous and distant an enterprise, he demurred. His father, instigated by Nour Mahal, insisted and grew angry. Jehanguir was, in fact, now growing old and feeble. Shah Jehan, perceiving the risk of being absent from Agra in case any casualty might occur, stood firm in his refusal. He had already done enough in his life for glory, and to deserve the grand bequest. The commands of Jehanguir to him to march forth on the Persian expedition became imperious. Nour Mahal added to them taunts and insults. Maddened at the network of intrigues which was fast enveloping him, Shah Jehan, like a lion in the toils, tore himself free by one mighty effort, raised the standard of rebellion against his father, and proclaimed war to the death against all who should dare to bar his road to the Golden Throne. It was a terrible—almost a killing—blow for Jehanguir. To Nour Mahal fell the heavy and serious duty of quelling the rebellion which her own intrigues had precipitated. She looked around her for a trusty general. Parvaez and Schehriar, princes of the blood, were both soldiers by profession, and both of unquestioned loyalty. But, not lacking in bravery, neither of them possessed the great generalissimo's intellectual prowess. At length she resolved upon selecting her ancient foe, but now pretended ally, Mohabet Khan, and to him was the command of the imperial army entrusted. With a mighty host the new generalissimo marched forth against the second Absalom in the imperial family. Shah Jehan, fighting with merely a horde of mercenaries in his pay, and against terrible odds, was successfully driven from Boorhanpoor and from Behar, and finally compelled to take refuge with his old enemies the Rajpoots of Mewar in the Deccan. Then he surrendered, giving up his two sons, Dara and Aurungzebe, as hostages. But now ensued that most extraordinary episode in all Jehanguir's reign,—the rebellion of Mohabet Khan himself. Jehanguir was defeated and taken captive, and was only rescued by an act of heroic self-devotion, and what might almost be termed masculine daring, on the part of Nour Mahal. Mohabet Khan, victorious at first, formed an alliance with Shah Jehan, who marched from the Deccan to storm his father's palace. But a panic seized his followers, and he was obliged to fly across the desert to Scinde. There he remained awaiting the turn of events. His opportunity speedily came. Parvaez died of epilepsy brought on by excessive drinking, at Boorhanpoor, although some accounts charge his death upon Shah Jehan. Then followed the crowning scene in the tragic drama. After a last ineffectual visit to the glorious vale of Cash-

mere, his beloved summer resort, Jehanguir died of asthma on his journey back to Lahore, in the 66th year of his age. No sooner was the magnificent funeral pageant over than Schehriar, instigated by Nour Mahal, seized upon all the imperial treasures, assumed command of the army,—whose favour he won by distributing liberal largesses amongst the soldiers,—and proclaimed himself Emperor. Meantime, a puppet had been placed on the Golden Throne by Asuf Khan, the father-in-law of Shah Jehan. This puppet was the youthful Dawir, son of Khoaru, who died so mysteriously. But Shah Jehan appeared speedily on the scene. The Mahratta chieftains, once his foes, espoused his cause; and, encompassed with a mighty host, he entered Agra in triumph. His brother Schehriar, the puppet Dawir, and the others of the Mogul princes who stood near to the succession, were all murdered without remorse. On the 21st January, 1628, Shah Jehan was solemnly proclaimed Emperor of Hindustan. Boundless festivities, continued through many weeks and shared in by millions of willing subjects, ratified the coronation of the new occupant of the Golden Throne.

Of Shah Jehan's further fate and variable fortunes it is not needful to speak here. It will suffice to add that through all the changing scenes of his life, up till his accession to the empire, his idolised consort Mumtaz Mahal had been his faithful friend, counsellor, and companion. Her wifely devotion knew no limits, either of time or circumstance. In exile and disgrace, as amidst all the grandeurs of imperial favour and of his unclouded success as a warrior, she had lived for her husband alone. She indeed might, if ever woman might, employ in saddest earnest the words of the beautiful song which Moore puts into the lips of Nour Mahal:—

“Fly to the desert, fly with me !
 Our Arab tents are rude for thee :
 But oh, the choice what heart can doubt
 Of tents with love, or thrones without ?
 Then come :—thy Arab maid shall be
 The loved and lone acacia tree,
 The antelope, whose feet shall bless
 With their light sound their loneliness.”

She was of peerless loveliness in youth, rivalling in her delicate Asiatic beauty even the world-famed Light of the Harem herself. And she was wifely fidelity embodied. For twenty years she kept by her husband's side, and no record remains of a single cloud ever having arisen to dim the lustre of their mutual affection. Her

children were numerous, and all survived her; nor was hers the fault if, in long after years, some of them rose against their father and subjected him to the very same woes which he himself inflicted upon the magnificent son of Akhbar. Such was Mumtaz Mahal, the "Pearl of the Palace" of Shah Jehan, and sharer with him of the wondrous and dazzling Peacock Throne. For, once securely installed in the imperial seat, even the Golden Throne which, it is stated by historians, had cost his father the enormous sum of *thirty millions sterling*, was deemed scarcely splendid enough for the august Sovereign of the World. So he devised a new throne, the seat whereof was set in a vine tree, whose leaves and fruit were of beaten gold and precious stones, the rays from which were caught and reflected by mirrors framed with pearls, and on the top thereof stood a peacock of pure gold, with tail outspread, every iridescent feather in which was represented in its natural colours by various gems and precious stones. The cost of this marvellous structure was, they say, six millions sterling! Now the rest of the acts of Shah Jehan and all that he did; how he raised the Mogul Empire to its palmiest pinnacle of prosperity and splendour; how he lavished wealth without limit on shows and spectacles, on pomps and frequent festivals; how he built the famous city of Delhi, with all its wonders of architecture in palace and temple, fortress and palace-tomb; how he constructed great canals and aqueducts for the fertilising of the territory and facility of transport; how he subdued many kingdoms and made them tributaries to the empire; how he laid out the incomparable gardens of Shalimar, a perfect fairy Eden of enchantment, where he spent some months of each year in every variety of festal gaiety and voluptuous enjoyment; and how his latter days were embittered by the rebellion of his children, and were passed in lonely captivity: are not all these things written in the books of the chronicles of the Great Mogul Emperors of Hindustan?

Mumtaz Mahal, the idolised consort of Shah Jehan, died in 1631, three years after his accession to the empire. She was crowned empress by her husband, and her image was stamped with his on the Imperial coinage. Her death left him inconsolable, and he resolved upon erecting to her memory a monument which should not alone outshine in splendour and excel in grandeur all other mausoleums on earth, but should also typify his deathless affection, the love that outlasts the grave. This monument, the world-famous Taj Mahal, still stands on the banks of the sacred Jumna to enchant the world. Its name is said by some writers to signify "the Crown

of Edifices," but by others is asserted to be a contraction of the name of the great empress herself. It exceeds in its costly grandeur and consummate perfection of architecture the wondrous structure which Artemisia erected at Halicarnassus over the remains of her beloved consort, and in its fairy-like loveliness that stately pleasure-dome which Khubla Khan decreed in Xanadu,

"Where Alf, the sacred river, ran
Through caverns fathomless by man
Down to the sunless sea."

The labour of twenty thousand men was engaged for two-and-twenty years in its erection. Its cost was equal to £750,000 of English money, a sum representing a vastly greater amount of Indian wealth two centuries ago. It stands in the midst of a garden of enchanting luxuriance, where once a profusion of fruits of the richest flavour and flowers of the loveliest hues combined to charm the senses with their blended fragrance and beauty, whilst numberless fountains of crystal waters "shook their loosening silver in the sun." Rising from a terrace of snow-white marble, the superb edifice—all constructed of the same pure and enduring material, surmounted with a magnificent dome crowned with a golden crescent, and adorned with tapering minarets of exquisite design—throws its light shadows on the waters of the sacred river. In the centre hall, under the lofty dome, stand the tombs of Shah Jehan and Mumtaz Mahal. They are enclosed in an open screen of mosaic, wrought into wreaths of flowers and tracery of ethereal workmanship, and formed of twelve kinds of precious stones—agates, jasper, and lapis-lazuli of cerulean azure. The windows are of white marble, similarly wrought in tracery, and perforated for light and air. The walls, screens, and tombs are covered with sculptured flowers and scrolls with inscriptions, executed in beautiful mosaics of cornelian, lapis-lazuli, pearl and jasper; and yet, though everything is finished like an ornament for a drawingroom, the general effect is solemn and impressive in the very highest degree. The entrance-gate to this region of enchantment is itself a palace, both as regards its magnitude and its decoration, being built of a deep red stone inlaid with white marble, and surmounted with domes and open cupolas. The centre forms a large circular hall, having a domed roof and gallery running round, and the interior walls are also embellished with splendid mosaics in rich patterns of flowers, so delicately wrought that they look like embroidery on white satin—thirty-five different specimens of

cornelians being employed in the single leaf of a carnation ; whilst agates, lapis-lazuli, turquoise, and other precious materials are spread over the structure in unparalleled profusion.

Such was the fitting shrine built by the master of the gorgeous East for the sacred ashes of his true and faithful wife. She had lived and died in the faith of the Prophet of Mecca, and her palace-tomb well symbolises in architecture all that is stateliest and most imaginative in that strange and captivating creed. Compared with it, that "stern round tower of other days," wearing the "garland of eternity"—upon which pilgrims to the Eternal City gaze in mute amazement—wherein reposes the dust of Cecilia Metella, is but a simple cinerary mound. And Byron's beautiful moralisings are all verified here. No need is there, standing before this consummate embodiment of all the finer domestic sentiments to ask—

"But who was she, the lady of the dead,
 Tombed in a palace? Was she chaste and fair?
 Worthy a king's, or more—a Roman's bed?
 What race of chiefs and heroes did she bear?
 What daughter of her beauties was the heir?
 How lived, how loved, how died she? Was she not
 So honoured—and conspicuously there,
 Where meaner relics must not dare to rot—
 Placed to commemorate a more than mortal lot?"

For, all that the poet imagines of the long-forgotten Roman matron was actually realised in the Empress Mumtaz Mahal. One strong antipathy alone she cherished. Nursed in the strictest tenets of the Koran, she had a holy abomination of everything approaching idolatry. The Portuguese, zealous Roman Catholics, had established themselves on the Malabar coast as traders. They were accustomed to set up images in their places of worship as aids to devotion. This circumstance becoming known to the Empress, she conceived a mortal dislike to "the foreign idolators," which her husband shared. An opportunity occurred after her death of giving practical expression to their common religious sentiment. Shah Jehan's lieutenant in Bengal sent word to his Imperial master that the foreigners were becoming insolent and aggressive. The answer to these representations was given in the laconic command, "Expel the idolators from my dominions." Thereupon the Portuguese capital, Hooghly, was besieged, stormed, and taken, after a leaguer of three months and a half. An immense slaughter of the European traders followed. Their fleet of sixty-four large vessels was entirely destroyed at sea. In the princi-

pal ship a body of 2000 fugitives, men, women, and children, had taken refuge with all their treasure. Pressed hard by the Moguls, and seeing no chance of escape, the captain set a match to the powder magazine, blowing his vessel with all its inmates into the air. Other ships of the fleet followed the example. Five hundred youthful prisoners of both sexes were selected and sent to Agra. The girls were distributed amongst the harems of the Emperor and his chief nobles; the boys were made eunuch-guards of the same establishments. The Jesuits and priests were imprisoned, and threatened with death if they refused to renounce the Cross and bow before the Crescent. But they were steadfast to their faith, and were magnanimously released by Shah Jehan after a short period of detention, and sent to Goa. It is another melancholy instance of the fatal power of fanaticism over the human mind that these very Jesuits and priests, who owed their lives to the generosity of a Mohammedan unbeliever, forthwith set up at Goa the dread tribunal of the Inquisition, and sent numbers of their fellow-Europeans and of the natives to the dungeon and the stake for the crime of refusing to bow before the same idolatrous images that had provoked the righteous horror of Mumtaz Mahal. With such a life, storied in monumental marble, and a devotion to her husband and her iconoclastic faith so heroic and so undying, what marvel is it that, even in death, the lofty spirit of the great Empress from its shrine refused to lend a single gleam of welcoming splendour to the pageant that celebrated the coming to her once-superb capital of the youthful *Giaour* from the far Western Isles?

DAVID BLAIR.

MAN'S RELATION TO THE OTHER ANIMALS.

"THE question of questions for mankind—the problem which underlies all others, and is more deeply interesting than any other—is the ascertainment of the place which man occupies in nature."* The learned Professor, after making the above statement, laid himself out to determine the actual position which, according to his view, man does occupy in Nature, and ended in the conclusion that man is no specially created member of the Animal Kingdom, but that he has come into existence in the same manner as all other members of it, and is joined to the class of animals next below him, by as many ties as that is joined to the next below it, so leading to the inference that there is a unity and continuity of connection by which all living forms are bound together from the lowest to the highest. The following pages are not intended as a scientific discussion for the determination of how man came into existence, but rather as an attempt, from a common-sense point of view, to show that the theory of human evolution from lower animals is not so void of reason as many are in the habit of supposing.

Regarding the origin of man, there are differences of opinion among those who on all other points uphold the Darwinian theory; thus, Alfred Russell Wallace, who, by his own thought and investigations had framed a theory of the origin of species by means of Natural Selection not inferior to that of Mr. Darwin himself, does not include man in his scheme of organic evolution. After stating that "from those infinitely remote ages when the first rudiments of organic life appeared upon the earth, . . . every form of life has been subject to the great law of physical change," these forms being subject to the continual action of this great law, "have been continually, but imperceptibly moulded into such new shapes as would preserve their harmony with the ever-changing universe. . . . At length, however, there *came into existence* . . . a being who was in some degree superior to nature, inasmuch as he knew how to . . . regulate her action and could keep himself in harmony with her, not by a change of body, but by an advance of Mind."

The foregoing reasoning clearly excludes man from the spontaneous productions of Nature, but it leaves us in the dark with reference to the most important feature of the question, how that

* Huxley: "Man's place in Nature," p. 57.

being, whose possession of mind rendered it so much superior to Nature, came into existence: was it specially created, or did Natural Selection produce it? The former it could not have been, for in his chapter on "Creation by law," Wallace has undoubtedly proved that every event which occurs in the universe is governed by law. Antecedents precede every effect, and every cause is followed by sequences. Nothing in the universe stands isolated from all the other things, hence man must bear some relation to the whole organic chain. Nor can Natural Selection be deemed sufficient to have placed man in the arena of life.

The arguments adduced by Wallace to prove the inefficiency of Natural Selection to produce man are the strongest with which I am acquainted. He argues—

1. Because the oldest known fossil skull of man indicates brain capacity far beyond what the mere necessities of the environment would demand. Existing savages have potential brain-power far in excess of any anthropoid. Natural selection only produces what is absolutely of advantage to its possessor; hence brain-power beyond the immediate requirement of the environment is not likely to have been produced, and certainly would not be preserved by selection.

2. One of the most general characters of terrestrial mammalia is the hairy covering of the body. Man is always hairless. The want of hair, Wallace maintains, could not have resulted from selection, because selection preserves what is of use, and there is every reason to believe that a covering of hair would be most advantageous to savages, who do feel the want of such a protection from the weather, and devise various means for supplying this omission on the part of Nature.

These are certainly weighty reasons why we should exclude men from the domain of Natural Selection, but I think that there may be in "Sexual Selection" a power to produce what Natural Selection could not. Intercalated between the extreme view of Mr. Darwin and the limited one of Mr. Wallace, comes Mr. St. George Mivart, who accepts the general theory of Darwinism regarding species, and joins man to the lower creatures by admitting the evolution of his body from some less highly developed organism. Here he leaves Darwin, and in a measure joins Wallace, by maintaining that there is in man a something that could not have been produced by Natural Selection, nor inherited through evolution,—that something, for which Mr. Mivart claims the assistance of Deity, is the "Soul."

Lest I tire the reader's patience by thus sketching the different

views of naturalists regarding man's origin, I shall conclude by stating that Natural Selection and its consequence, the survival of the fittest, is accepted by every naturalist of note in Europe, the extreme view of Mr. Darwin, which includes man in the chain of organic sequences, being the most popular. There are a few exceptions. Some of the noblest names of which science can boast are, or have been, opposed to Darwinism in a verbal sense—notably the late Professor Agassiz. Notwithstanding his professed and life-long opposition to Darwin's theory, there are to be found in his writings arguments which are almost as convincing as those of Mr. Darwin, proving the position man occupies in the animal world; thus in his celebrated work on Fossil Fish he writes that "an invisible thread in all ages runs through the immense diversity of organic forms, exhibiting as a general result that there is a continual progress in development ending in man, the four classes of vertebrates representing the intermediate steps, and the invertebrates the constant accessory accompaniment." * What other construction can we put on these words—"There is a continual progress . . . ending in man," but that his investigations had proved to him that man does not depart from the lower creation in a sufficiently marked degree to justify his being classed as a separate and special creation. This uniformity of plan which runs in so marked a manner through the diversity of organic forms was adduced by Agassiz to prove the wisdom, the power, and the existence of a personal God as Creator and Preserver of all things, but as it has a direct bearing on the question of man's propinquity to the lower animals, I use it for a different purpose than did Agassiz.

Professors Janet, Asa Gray, and Frederick M'Coy, Principal Dawson and the Duke of Argyll are named as opponents to the Darwinian theory, because it excludes design in the objective world, but with these objectors the list must end, and the direct question under consideration be introduced.

No student of Nature who has studied her secrets as revealed in her own volumes can have failed to observe the striking resemblance existing between the bony structure of man and that of the anthropoid apes. This general likeness can scarcely be called accidental, for the two forms blend together most perfectly in every respect; what is prominent in the one is found existing, at least in rudiment, in the other; there is a graduation of difference, each point of contrast becoming more marked as we ascend or descend

* Quoted by Dr. Hodge in "What is Darwinism?" page 102.

the organic chain. Man certainly does stand at the head of all known organisms; he is the most highly developed member of the animal world; he stands at the head of the vertebrate division, and is the highest of the mammalian class; but, as Tuttle suggests, he occupies his present position as the perfected fruit of countless ages of progress. Nevertheless, there is but little absolute difference between man and the other members of his class. As are their laws of embryonic growth, so are his; every form and mode of life above the mere protoplasm originates in the egg; the germ cell of a man is indistinguishable from that of an ape, as is that of an ape from a dog. No power of observation known to us is sufficiently acute to enable investigators to distinguish one form from another. Not only is the process of embryonic development the same in apes and men, but the organic changes of the one are similar to those of the other, and in the passage of the human foetus from the cellular homogeneity where it begins its development, it passes through many of the typical forms of lower life, hence the conclusion forces itself upon us that as man embryonically passes in ascending stages through what are the permanent condition of lower creatures, we have a preserved epitome of the long past history of his development.

In his recent lectures on the "Classification of Animals," Professor M'Coy thus speaks of the question of embryological development—"It is true, and curious it is, that the immature members of the higher classes present a gradual advance from the simplest point. . . . The highest creatures pass, in their extreme youth, what are the permanent forms of lower animals." Although the learned professor maintains that the arguments drawn from embryology are unfair, he could not but admit, as he did, "that there is a singular truth in the statement that immature high animals are like adult low forms."

Professor Haeckle lays it down as a Biogenetic law that the development of the individual is a short and rapid recapitulation of that of the line.

Hudson Tuttle, in his "Physical Man," states that "the whole organic world is bound together into an indissoluble unity which can only be accounted for upon the ground that there is a unity of descent." Oscar Schmidt says that this conclusion, as to the unity of origin and development of men and apes, is deduced "from the accumulated observations of comparative anatomy, evolutionary history and palaeontological research, checking, analysing and confirming each other on every point."

The propriety of joining man to the animal world through the apes here meets us. Of course if the doctrine of the evolution of humanity from the lower animals be true, there must be some point at which humanity becomes merged into animalism. Naturally enough we attempt to make the connection through those animal forms which approach nearest to the human form. No one would dream of joining man to the chain of organisms by supposing he sprang from a horse, a dog, or an elephant; therefore, the anthropoid apes, bearing so close a general likeness to the human structure, are the most likely either to have been the ancestors, or the descendants of a common ancestor of humanity. No particular ape can be chosen by which to make the connection. Professor Mivart in his "Apes and Men" has shown that man is related to *many existing apes*, as the gorilla, the chimpanzee, the orang, the gibbon.

"The cheap jest," writes Schmidt, in his "Descent and Darwinism," ". . . of inquiring why we do not now behold the interesting spectacle of the transformation of a chimpanzee into a man, or conversely, of a man by retrogression, into a gorilla—merely testified the crudest ignorance of the doctrine of descent."

One of the fundamental, and certainly one of the most prominent principles of the Darwinian theory is that all organisms are affected by changes which occur in the environment, that to live they must harmonise with their environment, and finally, that the environment of every group of organisms is always at all places in a constant state of change, producing corresponding changes in the organic world. Well then, upon this principle, not one of the apes now living can revert to the primordial condition of its ancestors, because the environment which produced those ancestors, and with which they harmonised, has passed completely away; without the recurrence of the primordial environment, it is impossible to find, and absurd to dream of finding a primordial ape. I might here remark that the primordial environment can never return unless the physical constitution of the earth be first changed. The heat, which in the geological past produced so many, and such gigantic organic forms, has been dissipated by radiation into space. Without the re-concentration of that heat in the earth, it is impossible that the primordial environment can return. Nor can existing apes exceed themselves and become men, because no naturalist believes that man stands in a direct line of development from the apes of to-day; the current opinion being that in the remote past there existed an anthropoid family, probably as much unlike the anthro-

poids of to-day as man is unlike them. From such a family both apes and men have descended. Schmidt says, the development of the anthropoids has taken a lateral course from the nearest human progenitor; one line being crowned by man, the other by the gorilla. Tuttle suggests that the Simise of the Oceanic Islands are a remnant of an older family that also gave birth to man.

The argument based on the "missing link," is not a valid one in scientific reasoning; as a matter of fact, it is very rarely urged by scientific men as an objection at all. In no study should the "missing link," or as it is more frequently termed, "negative evidence," be received with greater caution than in questions of geological import; the tooth of time so completely gnaws into dust all organic remains, that the chances are thousands to one against any being preserved, and millions to one against our finding the one so preserved. Hundreds of thousands of years have probably passed since this earth was first inhabited by intelligent beings, yet how little trace of that intelligence has been left behind either as organic remains or works of art, although works of art are more numerous than are organic remains. The bones from Grecian and Roman times, where are they? Egypt has preserved a few in her mummies, where are those left with Nature to preserve? Consider the multitudes of animals which for countless generations left their bones to whiten on the surface of the earth, yet how few have escaped the general destruction. Nature has not the material wherewith to be prodigal of her fossils; she requires the excrement of one form to build up another. Organic remains cannot successfully resist the law of decomposition by which is effected their re-conversion into dust and gas. "Were it otherwise, the earth would soon become so encumbered with the rubbish that living forms could not flourish." A consideration of these facts shows how weak, an argument drawn from supposed "missing links," must be, but Herbert Spencer, in his "First Principles," makes the weakness of Negative Evidence still more apparent. "Two thirds of the earth's crust," he says, "is covered with water, a great part of the other third is inaccessible to, or untrodden by the geologist, the remainder has been scarcely more than glanced at; . . . and considering the perishable nature of organic forms, and the changes which have evidently taken place in geological strata, we see reason for distrusting any conclusion we may draw from observation. On the one hand, the repeated discovery of vertebrate remains in strata previously supposed to

contain none; of reptiles, where it was believed fish only existed; of mammals, where reptiles were thought to be the highest, renders it daily more manifest how small is the value of Negative Evidence."

"Notwithstanding," says Professor Fiske in 'Cosmic Philosophy,' "the extreme imperfection of the geological record, and notwithstanding the special difficulties in the way of finding transitional forms, such forms are found." He further states, that in Cuvier's time, tapir, horse, pig, and rhinoceros were ranked as a distinct order from cow, sheep, deer, buffalo, and camel; but so many transitional forms have been found that they are now united in a single order. By numerous connecting links the pig is seen to be closely united with the camel and the antelope." A. R. Wallace gives the weight of his name to a similar statement. Oscar Schmidt writes that "the progress of development is manifest in the organic world. . . . No fossil animal controverts the system; on the contrary, . . . if the present pachyderms are sharply distinguished from the ruminants, an unbroken bridge between them is established by extinct forms," and Professor Flower, in his "Hunterian Lecture," reported in *Nature*, vols. xiii. and xiv., on the "Relation of Extinct to Existing Mammalia," concludes by stating that "here and there we have tolerably complete histories of gradual modification of forms with advancing time, and adaptation to the exigencies of changing circumstances, and we have many instances of extinct forms filling the gaps between those now existing." As a simple question of fact, however, man does not, zoologically, admit of many intermediate forms between himself and the higher apes. Mr. Selater, secretary to the Zoological Society of London, points out in his lecture on the "Distribution of Mammals":—"Whatever view we may hold, as to the moral and spiritual nature of man, there can be no doubt that, considered as regards his bodily structure, he must be classified simply as a mammal, not very far removed in all essential points from some of the higher monkeys." Or, more emphatically still, Mr. St. George Mivart asserts that "zoologically, man's body must be joined to the whole chain of organic life," and surely when missing links have been found in sufficient number to connect the pig with the camel or antelope, and the goat with the rhinoceros, we must not consider the difference between men and apes as being impassably great. In his brilliant lectures on "Evolution," in America, as reported in the *Scientific American Supplement*, numbers 41, 42, and 44, Professor Huxley refers to still more wonderful gradational forms, by which is filled up in great measure

one of the largest gaps in existing animate nature—that between the bird and the reptile. Remains of birds have been discovered, he tells us, that possessed *teeth*, and remains of reptiles have been discovered that were actually birds minus feathers. “The Mesozoic animals,” he says, “if arranged in series would so completely bridge over the interval between the reptile and the bird that it would be very hard to say where the reptile ends, and where the bird begins.” “There is in reality less difference between the lowest men and the highest apes, than there is between the highest and the lowest apes themselves;” and when the consanguinity of entire apedom is considered decisive in favour of Darwinistic views, there can be less doubt of the kindred connection of the old world apes to man. In his lectures on “Evolution,” before referred to, Professor Huxley in a most convincing manner shows that the imperfection of the geological record is no idle tale, not a straw clutched by drowning evolutionists, not a peg on which to hang their theory, but a great scientific fact. As an example of the nature of the evidence by which this imperfection is proved, he referred to the great sandstone beds in the Connecticut Valley. “This sandstone extends over many square miles . . . and is covered with the impressions of footprints of some two-legged animals . . . there are untold thousands of these impressions, 50 or 60 different kinds have been discovered, but up to the present time not one tooth, not a fragment of any of the creatures that made those impressions has been found. What has become of their bones? They must be, or they must have been somewhere, . . . these are not small animals for which we look, they were creatures capable of taking strides of 6 feet 9 inches.”

In these sandstone beds only one imperfect skeleton of an animal, much smaller than were those that have left the impression of their footprints, has been found. What more striking proof of the unrealisableness of negative evidence, which, in the absence of organic remains denies the existence of organic forms, at any given period of the earth's past history, than the foregoing from Huxley can be demanded; there are the footprints, where are the animals or their remains that made them? Future research may disclose them; so future research may produce all the intermediate forms between any given species.

The geological evidence, which proves the immense antiquity of man, is so well known to all readers of this class of literature that it is almost needless for me to recapitulate any of it. In an article

from M. Broca, which appeared in the *Anthropological Review* for 1868, it was stated that "man has left traces of his existence, marks of his industry, and remains of his body in geological strata—the age of which is beyond computation." As is also generally admitted, the human denizens of the primeval forests which clothed our mother earth were far below the intellectual status of the lowest known savages of to-day. This statement is based on the inartistic character of Celts and arrow-heads which are discovered in the drift, together with the human remains, and in structural organization these ancient men were so like the other members of the class primate that we cannot but infer that between the lowest men and the highest primate no break ever occurred. The one runs into and becomes thoroughly blended with the other. This growing likeness between man and his fellow primates, as we recede in time, does not necessarily imply that man has evolved from any given member of the class. As we trace back the two lines of development—that of the anthropoids and that of humanity—we find the structural resemblances becoming more marked because we approach the common point in time from which both lines are supposed to have commenced their career.

In a paper contributed by the Duke of Argyll to the *Contemporary Review* for July 1875, there are some interesting statements bearing on this question, which are worth noting. "The body of man is one in structure with the body of all vertebrate animals. . . . As we rise from the lowest of these (vertebrate animals) to him who is the highest, we see the same structure elaborated into closer and closer likeness, until every part corresponds, bone to bone, tissue to tissue, organ to organ. . . . We (the human race) are derived *and not* original."

It has been argued that the formation of the human hand and foot is of such a character that no law of development could ever have produced it from any other than its own type, and that type being once possessed is not likely to be lost. The quadrumanous nature of apes is therefore considered by many to form an impassable barrier, which precludes the possibility of there being any relationship between them and man. But Professor Huxley, in an elaborate discussion on the classification which marks apes and monkeys as quadrumanous, in his "Man's Place in Nature," clearly proves the error of the notion and shows that the primates have true hands and true feet, and that man does not depart from them in hand or foot more than the orang departs from

the gorilla, or the latter from the lower monkeys; that every bone, joint, muscle, or sinew in the one has its counterpart in the other. On page 103 of "Man's Place," Huxley brings all the lines of his argument to a close thus—"Whatever system of organs be studied, the comparison of their modifications in the ape leads to one and the same result—that the structural differences which separate man from the gorilla and the chimpanzee are not so great as those that separate the gorilla from the lower apes." On page 104 he writes—"Remember, if you will, that there is no existing link between man and the gorilla, but do not forget that there is a no less sharp line of demarcation, a no less complete absence of transitional form between the gorilla and the urang, or the urang and the gibbon."*

The brain, the recognised seat of man's superiority, does not present so striking a break between man and apes as to justify the assumption that the one cannot be related to the other by development and descent from a common source. There is the same gradation of differences in brain capacity from the lowest monkeys to the highest man that there is in bony structure. The largest human skull measured contained 114 inches, while according to Wagner, the smallest skull, possessing ordinary intelligence, is 55 inches. The measurement of gorilla skulls gives an average of 34 inches; thus between the gorilla and man possessed of ordinary intelligence there is a difference in brain capacity of only 21 inches; while between the possessor of ordinary intelligence and the highest man there is a difference of 59 inches. Surely if the highest man is joined to the lowest by a unity of descent and in his intellectual development has overleaped the 59 inches difference, it would be less difficult to pass the 21 inches which separate humanity from the gorilla. It is well to remember that the possessor of ordinary intelligence, whose skull measures 55 inches, is by no means the lowest in the scale of humanity, and that every step downward we take in brain capacity brings us the nearer to apedom.

It is a most common error on the part of those who oppose the doctrine of descent, to preach about the Godlike intellect of man, as compared with the merely brutal intelligence of the ape, the basis

* "The hind limb of the gorilla therefore ends in a true foot . . . It is a prehensile foot . . . but is in no sense a hand; it is a foot which differs from that of man, not in any fundamental character, but in mere proportions . . . and in the secondary arrangements of its parts. Hardly any part . . . could be found better calculated to illustrate the truth that the structural differences between man and the highest ape are of less value than those between the highest and the lowest apes, than the hand or the foot."—Huxley, "Man's Place in Nature," pages 92 and 94.

of the error being that the difference is that between the *highest* intellectual development of Europe and the common ape. Of course there is a tremendous difference between the Teuton with his 89 or 92 cubic inches and the 35 inches possessed by the gorilla; but when we interpose the Fijian or the Bosjesman, we find the difference less on the ape side than on the other. The facts of psychology usually quoted to prove man's intellectual superiority to be such that man and apes could never have evolved from a common ancestor, are *always* drawn from the very highest sources of intelligence, as the following examples will show: "An Englishman," we are told, "possesses such wonderful command of the relations of time, space, and number, as to be able to tell that to an observer stationed at Greenwich on the 7th of June, A.D. 2004, at precisely 9m. and 56s. after 5 o'clock in the morning, Venus will begin to cross the sun's disk"; or this, from Mr. Motley's pamphlet on "Democracy": "All the inconceivable time since primeval man, before the glacial flood, is but an hour's span, compared with that which the brute must traverse before he can crawl even to the threshold of humanity. There is something in man alone, which has weighed the heavenly bodies, measured their immense distances, . . . prescribed the course in which the planets wheel, expounded the laws which the universe obeys, . . . something which has produced from shapeless matter the Grecian Temple, the Gothic Cathedral, and the Pacific Railroad." I need not, I am sure, point out that in both these cases it is the highest intelligence that is placed in the balance against that of the gorilla. I affirm that the average *educated* Englishman is unable to deduce from his command of the relations of time, space, and number, the facts relating to the coming transit of Venus in the year 2004. If then, educated Englishmen are unable to deduce from their knowledge such facts, how much less the uneducated?

That something in man which has weighed the planets, measured their distances and defined their laws is as much above the ordinary European intellect as the ordinary European intellect is above that of the higher apes. When we go still lower than the ordinary European intellect (we can go much lower), we get still nearer the apes; when we interpose the intellect of the Australian aborigine, we find the chasm between human psychologic power and ape psychologic power reduced to a considerable extent. When the Bosjesman with his psychologic power is placed below the other, there is a still nearer approach to the apes, so that "the great problem of

comparison does not consist in the difference between man and other primates, either extinct or living, but between civilised man and primitive man."

The gap which certainly does exist between man and the anthropoids and which we have so far been unable to fill up, or bridge over by extinct forms, is more ideal than actual. As civilisation advances it becomes wider, more distinct and much more difficult to bridge over. As a fact of natural history it must be patent to every observer, that as civilisation spreads, the lower races of men being unable to at once adapt themselves to the changed environment forced upon them, fall back in the struggle for life and are finally pressed out of existence.* So with animals indigenous to the soil, they recede as man advances, and the change in their physical conditions, added to the diminution in their ranks by the weapons of man, tends to their speedy extinction; thus, save the meagre collections that are now preserved, and the scant descriptions of their habits deposited with them in our Museums, we see the gap ever widening making the possibility of its being filled up more and more improbable.

This pressing out of existence tribes and races of men and animals must always have followed the same course. The spread of the higher races of men is a most potent and a ceaseless cause, continually effecting the same result. The stratagem of savages triumphs over the sagacity of animals, and the barbarian by destroying such animals as crossed his path would widen the difference between himself and the lower creation. As the lower animals, in the first instance, fall out of the struggle, before the superior skill and power of man, so the lower races of men who first come to the fore, are in their turn pressed out of existence by subsequent and superior races making the distinction between humanity and animalism, more decided, we need not, therefore, be surprised at the paucity, or even complete absence of connecting links. We know the difficulty there is of now preserving relics of an expiring people, notwithstanding our well ordered museums; but our primitive progenitors had no museums in which to preserve

* Mr. Coleman Phillips, in his paper on the "Civilisation of the Pacific," read to the members of the Royal Colonial Institute, on March 21st, 1876, holds a somewhat different view to the above. He does not think that the native population of the Pacific will die out. He says, "the idea that native races die out upon the appearance of the white race, is true only in a limited sense. Tropical races cannot compete with more fitting races beyond the tropics, and white races cannot compete with native races within the tropics." See proceedings of the R. C. I. for 1875-6, page 171-2.

specimens either of himself or the other forms which were fast expiring around them; we can now preserve records and descriptions, where we cannot secure specimens, but our geologic forefathers had no press by which to perpetuate descriptions, no chemical knowledge by which he might arrest the process of natural decay, hence the demand to produce either transitional forms, or connecting links, is upon the face of it both unscientific and contrary to the natural order of things. Thus, then, the conclusion forces itself upon us, that however wide the gap existing between humanity and the anthropoid apes may be, its width can in great measure be accounted for by calling to our assistance the help of such forces as are now known to be in active operation nearly all over the world, and which must necessarily continue to widen that gap and to make the chances of it being filled up more difficult and more unlikely. We must also recognise in this fact the unreasonableness of those who would isolate men from his fellow members of the class "*Mammalia*."

One closing word on the moral bearing of the question. Does it infringe on the Divine prerogative of plenipotence to maintain that God in the first instance created but one, or a few primordial forms of life, leaving these to be moulded into such shapes as the physical condition should at any time determine? Does not such an assumed order of things add lustre even to the omniscience of God?

With regard to man himself, it does not detract from his intellectual superiority to admit that he has been produced by a slow process of development from the purely animal kingdom. As the Rev. Chas. Fraser, in his valuable and interesting paper on "Evolution," commenced in the last number of the *New Zealand Magazine*, suggests, it is not more ignoble to believe in the derivation of man from some highly organised being, than from an inert lump of clay. And I am sure that all lines of study (whether anthropological, embryological, ethnological, or physiological), converge to the one point, and are unanimous in the conclusion that man's place in Nature—that is, man regarded structurally and without reference to his spiritual or moral relations—is the highest of which we have any knowledge, that that position is the result of countless ages of progress, and that he bears as close a family resemblance to the anthropoid apes, as those apes bear to any other division of the animal kingdom.

In conclusion, we will remind the reader that our first argument

in proof of the relationship between man and apes was that drawn from the structural resemblance between them.

Secondly, the argument called "Negative," that which asks for the production of intermediate links, was shown to be unscientific, but that nevertheless, many intermediate links, joining widely separated and different animals, have been found.

Thirdly. The gap which does exist between man and apes was shown to be the simple and natural result of the spread of mankind, before which the higher classes of animals and the lowest races of men have been, and are still being pressed out of existence.

Fourthly. The doctrine of the derivation of humanity from some highly organised member of the animal kingdom was stated to be as highly respectable, if not more so, than that of the special creation of man out of unorganised dust.

We did not advocate that men have descended from apes, but that men and apes represent two lines of development from a common ancestral stock; we also pointed out that intellectually man does not, in the aggregate, depart in so marked a degree from the higher apes as we are generally led to suppose. True, the higher human families do stand far beyond the intellect of apedom, but the lowest *existing* races of men stand intellectually much nearer to the apes on the one side, than they do to the higher races of men on the other. We have reason for believing that in the remote past, men did exist in a much lower intellectual condition than that of the lowest savage of to-day. "For untold millenniums," says a writer in the *Scientific American* for Sep. 2, 1876, "the human race has been stumbling upward through intellectual *infancy*," and Professor D. Wilson, in his "Prehistoric Man," vol. i. page 4, tells us that "The study of man's condition and progress in Europe's prehistoric centuries reveals him a savage . . . armed solely with weapons of flint and bone. . . . Displaced by intrusive migrations, this rude pioneer disappears, and his traces are overlaid by the improved arts of his supplanters."

So the history of every nation makes manifest the fact that there was a time when it was much more uncivilised than at the period of such investigation. "The statement," says Professor Boyd Dawkins, in *Nature*, vol. xiii. page 245, "that no traces of a rude and imperfect civilisation have been met with in the East is refuted by the discovery of enormous quantities of flint implements in Egypt, and of neolithic axes in Asia Minor and in India. In the river gravels of these regions, implements have been found of the same type as those

of Amiens and Abbeville," illustrating the unintellectual condition of those people at remote past ages. And every step we take downward in man's intellectual attainments, we bring him by so much the nearer to the intellectual status of apedom; hence the inference that man's primitive condition was lower than his present, and that he is joined to the apes by as many and as distinct ties of kinship as the apes themselves are connected to the organised world below them.

D. MACALLISTEE.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, AND HOW IT IS TAUGHT.

IN two former numbers of the *Melbourne Review*, important articles appeared bearing upon the nature of the studies for matriculation at the local University. The aim of the papers referred to was most laudable, namely, to wage unrelenting warfare against cramming; and the impulse so given to the latent desire of removing certain impediments to true educational progress in the Public Schools; will doubtless, ere this, have produced some practical good. But though Mr. Morris, the writer of the articles, acknowledges freely that the University in which he is himself now deeply concerned, is "doing much and genuine work"; it is more than possible that the tone of his strictures will give many readers the impression that, on the whole, the work it does is below the standard at similar institutions elsewhere. There are, of course, universities in England, and notably those of Oxford and Cambridge, which offer advantages that of Melbourne does not possess. Still it is a fact that while some of the most successful Victorian scholars have gone to England to avail themselves of such advantages, others less successful have gone in the hope of finding a degree easier to obtain at our antipodes. The number of both these classes, however, is small.

Founded in one of the richest and most progressive communities on the globe, unfettered by traditional encumbrances, conceived in so truly liberal a spirit as to conflict with the religious prepossessions of no party, and drawing its professors from the best blood of British and Irish universities, it would be strange if the Victorian *Alma Mater* failed to attract, retain and train alumni. Singularly fortunate in the constitution of her council, she would have been equally so in her professorial staff, had she contrived to keep all its members. Two, it is true, died in harness; but two were allowed to carry the prestige of their names to other spheres of educational toil. Still "the coping stone of our educational system" is not only—as Mr. Morris puts it—"worth criticising," but is strong enough to sustain much adverse criticism.

New communities, however, are usually sensitive to the good opinion of older states; and Victoria is as susceptible on some points to the esteem of England as a daughter to that of a mother. Might it not then have been as well for Mr. Morris to commence by showing what the University *has* done by way of introducing improvements?

This is an open question. But it is certain colonial readers would be interested in such a sketch made by one so capable; while it is not impossible that the authorities might (since they are human) be to some extent influenced thereby to consider more readily the proposed reforms. Universities, as a rule, are slow moving. They are by nature strictly conservative, and look upon change with a guarded, if not a jealous eye. Nay, they are sometimes the opponents of progress.

"The improvements," says Adam Smith, "which have been made in several branches of philosophy, have not, the greater part of them, been made in universities, though some no doubt have. The greater part of universities have not been very forward to adopt those improvements after they were made; and several of these learned societies have chosen for a long period to be the sanctuaries in which exploded systems and obsolete prejudices found shelter and protection after they had been hunted out of every corner of the universe."

This is strong, and there is some truth in it. Most modern universities, however, are not of the retrograde type depicted in the last sentence. Certainly that of Melbourne is not. When universities are founded, the stock-in-trade, so to speak, which they commence with, is accumulated scientific knowledge in a certain stage of advancement. With improvements in various branches of learning, that stock becomes partly stale, but not necessarily unsaleable. Of course a university under an enlightened directory will be ever on the watch for improvements, and adopt them as far as practicable. Still the new ideas must ever be regarded with caution, and the suggestions of Mr. Morris form no exception to the rule.

Mr. Morris, if I apprehend him aright, in declaring war *à l'outrance* against cram, held that the matriculation examination in geography and history tended to "foster cram," and he would welcome the exclusion of these two subjects from examination, "failing the care required to defeat cram." On the other hand, he would gladly see them retained as subjects for matriculation could they be so presented to candidates so as to awaken their sympathies, for the cultivation and enlargement of which he very properly claims these two studies. In his first article Mr. Morris writes:—

"Without pretending to a complete psychological analysis, one may say that education should train the reason, the taste, the sympathies and the memory. Cram trains the latter only, and even this work it does badly. Cram means the acquisition of knowledge only for the purpose of presentment for examination" (p. 23.)

How does this bear upon the object the Melbourne University proposes to accomplish? In the Act of Incorporation, printed in the calendar, the University, we are told, "is established and endowed to promote sound learning among all classes and denominations of Her Majesty's subjects in the colony of Victoria." This being so, it is clear that of the four ingredients which go to make up Mr. Morris's definition of culture, two, namely, taste and sympathy, are not explicitly provided for. Under the term "sound learning," come, (1.) The acquisition of scientific information, in which the apprehension and memory are chiefly concerned; and (2.) The development of the intellectual capacity of reasoning. The founders of the University, mindful of the classic adage, *Ingenuas didicisse*, left taste unspecified, knowing well that in the process of acquiring sound learning, taste will be sufficiently provided for. Knowing also that the institution they were founding was to be secular in character and suited to all denominations, they wisely made no provision for cultivation of the sympathies. The sympathies are delicate ground on which prudence forbade them to tread. The University leaves their cultivation to affiliated colleges and the grammar schools. Did it dare to foster Anglican, Presbyterian, Wesleyan or Catholic sympathies, it would soon find on its hands a number of burning questions, among which the flame of "sound learning" would shine feebly. The authorities then have some reason on their side in confining the examinations in geography and history within strict limits. For as these subjects are, of all the ten appointed for matriculation, when fully studied, best calculated to awaken the sympathies, so they are most of all liable to awaken conflicting sympathies.

The Professorial Board have been compelled by the necessity of the case to prune down these two subjects to avoid discord. On the whole they have discharged this duty honourably. It is impossible to obtain historical text books in the English, or indeed in any language that do not clash with the sympathies of several denominations. How many Anglicans, for instance, would accept Macaulay's verdict on Cranmer, or Lingard's on Garnet? Every intelligent man likes to read Macaulay and Lingard, but many consistently object to have their children imbued with those writers' principles, prejudices, opinions, or *sympathies*.

On the other hand it may be asked—Would the University authorities act judiciously were they to exclude these subjects altogether, in the hope Mr. Morris seems to entertain that they would

be more fully studied in the schools, if they formed no part of the matriculation course? Let us listen to the Rev. G. Butler, editor of the *Public Schools' Atlas*. In the introduction, we read:—

“Although at Oxford and Cambridge distinguished professors have drawn attention to the great value and importance of geographical knowledge, many students take their degrees, and even obtain high honours, without any adequate knowledge of physical or historical geography. At Oxford the fascinations of metaphysics and moral philosophy seem to have produced an indifference to physical facts in connection with history. The editor's experience of two years as an examiner in the schools at Oxford, revealed to him a great amount of ignorance of ordinary geographical facts on the part of honor men, some of the best logicians and classical scholars showing the greatest ignorance of geography. . . . Let this knowledge be tested by a matriculation examination, and the Public Schools will be obliged to take up the study seriously.”

The italics are Mr. Butler's, and the inference appears plain as to the fate of geography, should it disappear from the University course.

With regard to history, within the past year, an English journal reports that the teaching of this most interesting and important subject has all at once been discontinued at Eton; while later news about the matter comes in the shape of a vigorous protest against the step. Clearly there are differences of opinion on these topics, and while such exist, the University does well to consider.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Mr. Morris, in drawing attention to the miserable way in which geography and history are studied in many of our Public Schools, deserves the thanks of the community. Instead of merely cramming scholars with names, facts, dates and events for examination, he would have them linger by the banks of Rhine, or muse an hour at Marathon, amid instructive and enchanting associations. This doubtless would be an improvement. Still, when time presses, the dry geographical and historical information must take precedence of the higher culture Mr. Morris advocates; and if no more serious charge can be brought against the University than that of requiring candidates to commit to memory a number of dry facts, the authorities may reasonably fold their arms and leave the work of reform to subsidiary institutions.

May I venture then to express the opinion that Mr. Morris has not hit upon the chief defect in the matriculation course, and that there is a much more objectionable species of cramming in vogue than that referred to above? It is one which positively injures the reasoning powers. It is indeed the worst kind of cram,

That I take to be the worst species of cram which palms off upon the student, as good intellectual nutriment, teachings which are contradictory or otherwise untenable. That such cramming prevails to a greater or less degree in all educational institutes, and in a study which is often looked upon as specially calculated to train the youthful mind to correct habits of thought, may appear a bold and perhaps a presumptuous assertion. Yet the charge admits of proof, while to some of those best qualified to form an accurate judgment on the question, proof may appear superfluous.

To come down from generals to particulars, I refer to the plan at present adopted for teaching the English language. Every branch of study, if properly conducted, must more or less call forth the intellectual powers of comparison and judgment. But English grammar and the modern system of analysis are commonly looked upon as specially adapted to this end. How then, it may be asked, do they answer the purpose? There can be little doubt that if taught properly, grammar offers precisely the kind of matter that will compel correct thinking in those who apply to it. One grammarian, Dr. Morell—than whom there is still none more popular—professes to “treat grammar as a purely intellectual exercise.”

Grammarians, like other artists, are sometimes led to magnify their art; but Dr. Morell goes further than any of them here. Grammar is unquestionably more than “a purely intellectual exercise.” It is to a great extent mnemonic; and is, moreover, learned commonly for the practical and profitable end of acquiring a correct and systematic knowledge of our own tongue and acquaintance with foreign languages, literature, and science. Grammar is not studied for its own sake, but as a means to an end, that end being at least as much to enable the mind to obtain suitable food as to help intellectual digestion. The question then resolves itself into this—what kind of nutriment is presented under the name of grammar, and how are the young taught to assimilate that nutriment?

There are two ways of obtaining a reply to this question. One is by taking the views of experienced teachers. Another is by entering into the science itself, and showing how it is treated in the text books which chiefly contribute to the formation of the views commonly held by those who teach it. I confine my remarks to the former. The latter method, to be exhaustive, would necessitate a long and tedious process.

I have no hesitation in stating that a greater diversity of opinion

exists regarding grammar than on any other subject commonly taught in schools. There are, as before observed, differences about other branches of study; but there is no parallelism between grammar and any other school subject in this respect. I know personally an experienced schoolmaster who looks upon the whole modern system of teaching English as, in his own expressive words, "a grand mistake." What sensible teacher ever condemned the whole modern system of teaching arithmetic, history, or Latin in similar terms? There must be something curious in the state of grammar to elicit such a judgment from a practised teacher. My friend is not a solitary instance. A score of anonymous examples, however, will carry little weight, and, therefore, I give what may be fairly termed a marked contrast of opinion on the matter in hand between gentlemen well known in and beyond the limits of these colonies, whose names alone will call attention, and who may be looked upon as representative men. I allude to Dr. Badham, of the Sydney University, and to Mr. E. E. Morris, of the Melbourne Grammar School. The latter evidently does not consider the present plan of teaching the English language open to the same objections as geography, history, and the classic authors. All these, he tells us, may be crammed, but not grammar. Speaking of the English examinations he says:—

The learning of grammar by no means falls under the same condemnation as the learning of lists of dates or names.

The introduction of a text-book like Abbott and Seeley, which requires thought, and which is unpopular accordingly, shows that it is sought to keep this section free from the fascinations of cram. It may be worth while also to state that English analysis defies cram, as long as the passages to be analysed are not selected from books previously announced.—*Melbourne Review*, April 1876, pp. 195-196.

What says the New South Wales professor? Read, mark, and compare with the above:—

How many schoolmasters, how many educated men have you and I heard vehemently denouncing the pedantry of this new-fangled scholastic science of analysis? How many serious and thoughtful parents, of all professions, have ridiculed the notion of making the English language a sort of horse on which to hang a whole shopful of technical terms? . . . This, then, is the sum of the reflection which every parent in the colony is invited to make for himself:—I want my boy to know his own language; to know it, as things only can be known, by a process of thinking. This analysis of sentences and all these curious pigeon-holes, into which all the classes of each part of speech, after being duly labelled, are thrust, . . . will neither teach him to speak, nor to write, nor to think,

If, therefore, every parent in this colony follows Mr. Morris's opinion, while every parent in the sister colony adopts that of Dr. Badham, we shall have divergence rather more than enough, and the difficulty attending the proposal by the former of amalgamating Australian universities will be considerably increased. If grammatical analysis be, as Dr. Badham represents it, new-fangled, pedantic, and practically useless for teaching children the nature of their own language, how, in the name of all that is scholastic, can it, as Mr. Morris asserts, "defy cram"? Here are two distinctly conflicting opinions on an important scholastic question that can hardly be reconciled. Mr. Morris may refer to the *proper* method of teaching the language, Dr. Badham to a prevalent *improper* method. If so, how comes the former to pass, unnoticed, evils the latter declaims against? He is on the subject of cram, and surely it is worse to cram disputed grammatical theories than unquestioned historical or geographical facts. It would be no satisfactory answer to say that the *practice* of analysis defies cram, if the *theory* fosters it. Nor will I insult Mr. Morris by considering him capable of giving the possible reply, that the theory of grammatical analysis, though obscure or unsound, may be studied on the plea that it teaches young pupils "to think." Neither obscure or unsound theories form desirable subject-matter for training the youthful mind. We learn to think rightly by getting clear and true ideas alone, and all the obstacles which prevent the young student learning to think aright are so many barriers to real progress.

Several times within the last few years, in different Melbourne and Sydney newspapers, correspondence has appeared in connection with the modern system of teaching the English language, and the burden of that discussion has been "Think versus Cram." As newspapers seldom admit correspondence unless it interests a wide circle of readers, it may safely be concluded that thousands of busy colonists feel concerned in the issue at stake. They do well to be concerned, if they find their children are losing a certain proportion of their school time by committing to memory theories they cannot really understand, and which the grammarians themselves have not probed to the bottom, so as to treat them clearly and consistently. It is all very well to say we must teach children to think. What is the use of their being taught to think wrongly, as they are in many of the current text-books on English grammar and cognate subjects? That many things are taught in such books which are either untrue, ill-digested, contradictory, or disputed, just as if they were so many

definitely-ascertained and well-established truths of science, would not be difficult to prove, if space permitted. When children are taught geography, and they come to some not yet well-explored region, such as the interior of Africa, the information given them is usually put forward with a due caution as not altogether reliable. Similarly in astronomy and chemistry, theories not established by conclusive evidence are advanced in a tentative manner, and so we have, for example, the atomic theory and the nebular hypothesis. This is scientific. But in the grammars, mark well, there are no hypotheses. Everything is pure dogmatic truth. Grammarians have no hesitation. They deal out information regarding topics not yet fully examined, with the most refreshing positiveness. They will tell us precisely what our primitive ancestors did with particular classes of words, though how they get such knowledge no one knows. Others give undoubtingly the origin of particular words traced backward on the most slender evidence, several hundred years. Soon, new works may give quite different accounts of the same matter. Some grammarians, again, like Abbott and Seeley, endeavour to teach the young the great Kantian problem, in a new form, of how we pass from not knowing to knowing, and how we form particular kinds of ideas. Then with regard to definitions: what a conflicting variety of these do not the popular grammars abound in? It is notorious, among those who have gone deeply into the subject, that there are irreconcilable discrepancies on this head. Yet Mr. Mason, one of the most lucid and careful grammarians, in his preface, declares that—"In grammar, as in every other science, the accuracy of the definitions is of vital importance."

There is, then, strong presumptive evidence that something is wrong in this study, which many educationists look upon as specially adapted to draw out the thinking powers in an unobjectionable way. The marked difference of opinion existing between Mr. Morris and Dr. Badham, itself, points to an unsatisfactory state of affairs. If further corroboration of the fact be needed, we have not far to go for it. Abbott and Seeley's *English Lessons for English People*, not long since appointed for matriculation, is referred to by Mr. Morris in terms of approval, as well calculated to evoke thought, and so defeat cram. When appointed, this book evoked something besides thought. Several infuriate students rushed to the newspapers to complain of the heavy burden laid upon them; declaimed against "the folly of the wise"; challenged the university professors to learn the book themselves, and, rightly or wrongly, the work became so unpopular,

among both schoolmasters and scholars, as to have what may be termed a very short and unsuccessful run.

Then look at Morell's *Grammar*; its varying fortunes, and the yet unsettled difference of opinion about its merits. This work was, not long since, deposed from its pride of place at the University in deference to a growing wish; but it still remains the favored child of the Education Department, and there is reason to believe that a majority of inspectors and teachers consider it an excellent textbook, while others regard it with contempt.

A few years ago an English Grammar was published by Mr. A. A. De Mornay, of Williamstown, with the professed design of accomplishing what its author considered Dr. Morell had failed in. The work met with several favorable comments in the daily press, had some little sale, but failed to supplant Morell. Great pains and thought were displayed in the work, and the unrequited labour so lost calls for a passing expression of sympathy. Mr. De Mornay deserved a better fate than that the following of Becker led him to.

Within the present year has come upon the scene the joint undertaking of Professors Pearson and Strong—*The Student's Grammar*. As bearing upon the subject under consideration, some notice of it can hardly be avoided. I would then draw attention to the fact, honestly admitted in the preface, that its authors profess to give "the last results of the best writers on philology and English grammar in a simple and concise form." The professors say:—"They have based their work on the labours of K. F. Becker, Maetznier, Earle, Abbott and Seeley, Morris, Bayne, and Mason, and believe that they have advanced nothing which is not supported by good authority."

Here I am confronted by two difficulties. First, can the principle of authority be legitimately admitted for the settlement of grammatical questions? If grammar be a science, many will be inclined to regard authority as inadmissible in its treatment. Again, can the works of the grammarians named above be reconciled so as to give uniform results? So far as my acquaintance with those writers extends, I am inclined to think not. They give conflicting definitions, put forward conflicting principles, and develop conflicting systems. If the grammar of Professors Pearson and Strong succeeds in permanently satisfying, it will be owing to something else than the unanimity or solidity of the writers they build on. Already the usual fatality besets the new grammar which has attended so many others, there being widely different estimates formed of it.

As evincing still further "the restless unsatisfied longing" in the scholastic mind for scientific accuracy in the theory of grammar, it may be pointed out that there are several hundred works by various authors on English Grammar with scarcely a principle common to all. New works equally diverse are still teeming from the English and American press, while even here, where fifty years ago no human tongue but the mellifluous language of the blacks was heard, a new English Grammar appears almost regularly each year. Professors, inspectors, and teachers are divided as to their merits, and so the work of cram in learning the English language goes merrily on. What, then, can be done to end so undesirable a complication? We cannot lay aside the study of grammar: it is a necessity of the times. To those who ask if, after so many failures, it be possible to present grammar in a thoroughly consistent and satisfactory form, I reply—"More difficult things have been accomplished."

J. W. ROGERS.

CRITICAL NOTICES

A HUNDRED POEMS: A Novelette, by J. Brunton Stephens. Melbourne: Samuel Mullen.

ADMIRERS of J. Brunton Stephens' poetry will, no doubt, be glad to renew their acquaintance with him under a new aspect. That the most versatile—and we think, upon the whole, the best—of Australian poets should write a readable novelette is only to be expected. The poet who descends to fiction is more likely to succeed than the novelist who attempts poetry—the higher form of art. While the dialogue is easy and natural, the narrative and descriptive portions are enriched by a fulness of allusion and suggestiveness of expression which demonstrate the readiness and cultivation of the author's mind, and to our thinking constitute the most attractive features of the work under notice. We observe, also, the tolerably frequent use of words borrowed from scientific terminology. This practice, followed by the greatest of living novelists and by many other popular writers, is significant of the altered direction of popular thought and education in the present day. We have more science and less allusion to the classic fables of nations who knew nothing of science, and we gain more than we lose by the change. While we have much to say in praise of Mr. Stephens' novelette the reader will probably close it with the impression that the author has toyed with his work. He is capable of better things; and if he will allow us to suggest his field of portraiture we will remind him of a passage of his own. It is this: "But I must say *en passant* that if any novelist wants a fresh field and pastures new (this should be fresh woods and pastures new, Mr. Stephens), let him pass a year or so in an Australian river-district, taking note the while of the inter-family politics of the different stations, the marvellous subtlety of their social distinctions, their self-estimates, and mutual estimates, their delicate balance of wealth and standing, their capricious reversals of their own canons when convenience suits, and the whole strange round of bullockratic strategy—let him do this, and verily he shall have his reward."

G.

SWEET GIRL GRADUATE: A Christmas Story, by Arthur P. Martin. Melbourne: J. and A. McKimley, 61 Queen-street.

THE author of the brief sketch published under the above title is a new candidate for the suffrages of that portion of the public that holds to a belief in the "Fiction fields of Australia." As an occasional contributor to the Poets' corner of some of our leading journals, his name is not unfamiliar; and many of his verses, notably some of those appended to the story just issued, exhibit a felicity of expression, a rhythmical ease, and a humorous suggestiveness, that promise well for his future more ambitious efforts.

In the good old days of "Pamela" and "Clarissa Harlowe,"

when our forefathers regarded themselves as literary men if they got through the current number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in the course of the month, and when they had no ponderous daily broadsheets to take their attention from their foxhunting and hard drinking, it was doubtless quite as serious a business to read a novel as it is now to write one; judging however, from the thousands of such productions that annually fall still-born from the teeming press, it may be reasonably inferred that the tendency of the age to over-production is an opposite extreme, possibly even less desirable.

The garish newness of our colonial homes is a serious drawback to anything pertaining to the romantic, hence the form of a Christmas story, the best models of which deal exclusively with the affectional and domestic side of our nature, with an occasional ghost thrown in, should be well suited to awaken the interest of the reader in what is going on around him, if only the tale is told by a master. Heroic self-devotion, undying constancy, noblest aspirations, purest love, and angelic goodness, may as surely exist in the back streets of Melbourne, as in the terraced castles and ancestral halls where Sir Walter Scott loved to place them, and their contest with, and necessary final triumph over meanness tyranny hatred and persecution, should have a greater interest for us as pertaining to a social condition of which we are a part. All we want to make us embrace the picture is a certain local colouring—something that shall force us to exclaim, this is unmistakably Australian; and it is the want of this that constitutes the prime defect of Mr. Martin's sketch. If one of Bret Harte's Californian mining sketches were pirated by a goldfields paper, and the names changed to local ones, the story would not fit an Australian mining community at all; it is so essentially racy of the soil, that it cannot be dissociated from Californian life and character without destroying it; whereas, by changing the names of the localities and an occasional allusion to the weather, "Sweet Girl Graduate" might be published in a London magazine as a local story—the reference to "rural lanes" in the neighbourhood of Melbourne, and the use of the word "village," as applied to a suburb, marking it as peculiarly un-Australian.

Having said thus much by way of fault-finding, it only remains to add that the characters of the little story are sketched with an easy fidelity to nature that makes them companionable, and as there is no elaborate probing of the motives of human action, and no complication of plot to distract the reader's attention, the story glides smoothly to its easily foreseen *denouement* with alternations of humour and pathos, leaving the impression that the actors in its pages might have made much more of their parts had they not been rigorously bound to time.

Mr. John Junket, the veteran player, who has outlived his powers, is so accurately portrayed as to vividly recall more than one departed celebrity of the "Royal;" while the very slight sketch of Mr. Wotton, the social reformer, who, like all of us who have an emotional side to our nature, is not "as bad as his creed," is too good to have received such brief treatment at the hands of his inventor.

As a story it has one exceptional quality, it is without a villain,

—nay, ~~there~~ is not even an ordinary scoundrel, while the most commonplace people are credited with the exercise of the most Christian virtues. Either Mr. Martin's lines have fallen in very pleasant places, or he is very young. Perhaps if he essays to entertain us again next Christmas, he may be more cynical, for he will be older and less trustful of human nature.

H. G. T.

THE MELBOURNE REVIEW.

No. 6.—APRIL, 1877.

ON PROPERTY IN LAND.

IN a lecture that I delivered not long ago on taxation, I proposed that the State should adjust taxation so as to prevent any man from owning more than 40,000 acres. In taking that particular limit, I was guided by the fact that only eight properties of the kind have at present been found in Victoria. My idea was that the interference of the State should be restricted within the narrowest bounds possible. In the same spirit, I proposed that a term of three years should be allowed during which the land-owners whom the tax affected might change their investments with as little loss and annoyance as possible. Guarded and moderate as my scheme of reform seemed to me, and to those who think like myself, it has of course been met with a warm opposition, and has been repeatedly denounced as "Communism," or by even stronger names. Now, I do not profess to feel any sentimental horror of Communism. My professional studies have so far familiarized me with Continental literature as to teach me that an old and distinguished school of French thinkers, from Montaigne and Pascal downwards, has been Communist at least in principle; and that the most brilliant school of Russian thinkers, including men of every class, is avowedly Communistic. But though I can study Communism without indignation or contempt, I am not conscious of feeling the smallest affinity to its principles. Historically, I think the tendency of mankind in the most perfect forms of society, has been to discard it more and more; and practically, having studied the fortunes of many Communistic schemes, I am convinced that no one of them has ever really succeeded, or ever protracted its existence except by accident. So strongly have I expressed my views on this subject at times, that an eminent Russian socialist, M. Ogareff, picked



me out as a typical English Conservative on matters of political economy, and did me the honor to refute my arguments at length in a series of "Letters to an English friend."

But a man may eschew Communism, by which I understand the doctrine that private property is not to exist, or is not to exist in land, without rushing to the opposite extreme—that the rights of the private proprietor supersede those of the community. I have heard this doctrine put in the shape, that assuming a single person to obtain possession of the whole soil of England, he would be legally justified in evicting the whole population, and that the community would be bound to submit. The hypothesis thus stated is of course too extravagant to be seriously discussed. But it cannot be said that the danger of something like it is altogether remote or visionary. For instance, half Scotland has passed, as the last Domesday shows, into the hands of some hundred and seventy proprietors. A portion of these have so used their power, that the population of three counties (Sutherland, Inverness, and Kinross), has actually diminished since 1831, during a time when the rest of Scotland has been growing in numbers and wealth. One land-owner at least has been found to threaten publicly that if the Scotch farmers continued their agitation against ground-game, he and others of his class would take the farms into their own hands and expel their tenantry. It is usual, I know, to speak of Scotland as an exceptional instance. But it is exceptional only in the circumstance that it has passed more completely than England into the hands of a few men, and that the natural consequences of overgrown proprietorship are accordingly best studied North of Tweed. The same facts are repeating themselves on a small scale throughout England. I could point to one large estate where the last owner, having imbibed the principles of Malthus, enforced them upon his tenantry by compelling everyone who married without leave to quit the property. I know another, where cottages, as they fall in, are systematically pulled down, and the labourers obliged to emigrate to the nearest town; while the owner of a third has depopulated the country for two or three miles round his own house, forcing the labourers to walk miles to their work that the view from his drawing-room windows may not be spoiled by the smoke from a cottage chimney. A man's own experiences count for little, and though I could add many of a similar kind, I will abstain from doing so. Anyone who will take the census returns for 1871 and 1831, and will compare, as I have done, the population in groups of purely agricultural villages at the two periods, will find that even the small

increase the Registrar-General allows for, four and seven per cent. in two decades, against 19 and 18 for the population of towns, is obtained only by the inclusion of small towns in the rural districts. During forty years the population of agricultural villages in England has remained as nearly as may be stationary.*

Two facts then seem proved as regards Great Britain and Ireland; the first, that the soil of the country outside cities is now held by fewer persons, absolutely and relatively, than was the case two centuries ago; and the second, that the country population diminishes in proportion as the large land-owners increase. The colonial supporters of facts as they are in England, argue that the natural forces which break up properties will always in the long run equal those which tend to concentrate them. But they bring no proof of the assertion, and I doubt if it be possible to bring any; unless we include the revolutions that from time to time sweep away a class of overgrown landed proprietors among natural causes. On a large part of the continent, changes introduced by the French Revolution have broken up land into small holdings. In Russia and part of Austria, the State has interfered to create a class of peasant proprietors. But where there has been no violent change, as in Spain, Portugal, and the old Papal States, large estates, secured by a law of entail more rigid than the English, are a prominent fact. Of America, I do not think it is as yet possible to speak certainly. A country with something like two thousand million acres, in other words, with thirty-six times the area of Victoria, is not easily bought up, even though it have more than fifty times the Victorian population. In the State of Texas properties are notoriously large, but population is thin, and there is in consequence no complaint. On the other hand, several states, such as New York and California, have appeared to suffer from the vast extent of land that has passed into private hands. In New York, the Van Renselaer property was violently seized by intruders; in California, a part of the press recommends a policy of confiscation. The carelessness of American citizens about founding families has made the dispersing force in that country stronger perhaps than in any other. But the facts, I think, tend to prove that even there the desire to build up properties overcomes the exceptionally strong forces that tend to defeat accumulation.

* "Between the census of 1851 and 1861," says Mr. Syme, "Cambridge and Rutland decreased 5 per cent.; Norfolk, Wilts, and Suffolk, 2 per cent.; Anglesea and Montgomery, in Wales, also sustained a loss."—*Landlordism in England*, p. 11.

No doubt, it does not follow that because we detect a certain tendency in property to concentrate itself in a few hands, we are bound to legislate against it. Practically, the more wary of my antagonists have abandoned the very unsafe proposition, that the dispersing force is as strong as the concentrating, and are trying to prove that large landed estates are beneficial to the community. Accordingly, side by side with the statement that there is no real tendency to the absorption of small by large landowners, we see arguments that there are countries in which large estates are the rule, and which flourish in consequence. The favorite comparison of course is between England and France, though Belgium is not unfrequently included. Now, I have no desire to avoid the controversy on this ground, which I think is the strongest my antagonists can take up. But I need not say that it is not sufficient to show tables of gross produce and to prove that England produces more, year by year, than France or Belgium. It may produce more because it is more fertile, or because its farmers are more skilful or richer than their foreign competitors. As a fact, I believe any honest comparison will turn very much to the advantage of France. I propose to take as the starting point for a fair comparison of France and England at present, a comparison of the state of the two countries in the time just preceding the revolution. The soil of France was then held in a way which economists of every school would reprobate. The Crown held large properties which were sacrificed by bad management or to game-preserving; the higher clergy and great nobles were habitually absent from their estates; and a great part of the land held by the smaller nobles (a declining class) had been sold to peasant proprietors, with reservation however of seignorial rights. As trade could not flourish under a system of rigid trade monopolies, and when every province had its custom-houses, the bulk of the population was forced to live upon the land. But practically, the peasant could only buy the right to cultivate. He could not purchase the right to grind wheat at his own mill, or to press wine and olives in his own press; he could not buy a discharge from the obligation to work on the royal roads. The vendor habitually retained the rights of preserving game, and what we may call pre-emptive rights in the labor-market. All these common rights, as we should now consider them, were then marks of distinction or privileges of rank, which the noble would never part with, except in the last necessity, and above all would never part with to the peasant. M. Taine makes a

rough calculation, by which out of every hundred francs that the French peasant earned, about 53 went to the treasury, about 14 to the church as tithes, and the same sum to the noble for feudal rights.* The peasant thus retained only from eighteen to nineteen francs out of every hundred. But this statement, sufficiently strong in itself, represents after all only a portion of the case. The taxes were so badly levied that it is difficult to say where the loss to the tax-payer ceased. For instance, under the oppressive system of the *Gabelle* or salt-tax, every man was obliged to buy a certain quantity of salt for household uses, at a high price fixed by Government, and might not economise part of his store for salting-down. The example will cease to seem a small one when I add that for this tax alone something like four thousand persons were punished yearly; 3400 with imprisonment; 500 with the whip, exile, or the galleys. Yet the *Gabelle* was not established in all the provinces of France.

Need it be said that under this system a naturally rich country was kept miserably poor. All accounts of the time agree in representing the French peasant of the nineteenth century as half brutal and half-starved. Mr. Mill has established, from the descriptions of Arthur Young, that wherever there was exceptional excellence of cultivation, the land was in the hands of small proprietors. But it is, perhaps, safer not to attach much importance to this. There was no fair trial of competing systems, for no large estates were in the hands of wealthy and energetic administrators, such as scores of English country gentlemen were and are. Nor is it essential to my present argument that I should discuss the good work done by a French yeomanry, such as it was under Louis XVI. I only wish to recal the fact that the French people of that day were living dangerously near to absolute want, and in a state of squalid degradation. Thus much has been confirmed and even brought into stronger relief by all the researches of the best writers in the last thirty years.

It is a little difficult to understand why the feeling against large properties was so violent as it seems to have been in France at the time of the Revolution. When we consider that subdivision had undoubtedly begun under the operation of natural causes, it might seem that nothing more was needed than to abolish feudal tenures and to make sales of land easy. To French legislators, however, the example of past times seemed so decisive against large estates, so emphatic in favour of small

* *L'Ancien Régime*, par M. Taine, p. 543.

properties, that the Code Napoleon, which rather represents conservative reaction than a revolutionary spirit, confirmed that law of succession, sketched by Mirabeau and recommended by Talleyrand, under which, as Professor Cliffe Leslie puts it, "the subdivision of the soil has been not only perpetuated but increased in a geometrical progression." Economists who hold that this law went too far, interfered too much with rights of proprietorship, are entitled, I think, to say that some shortcomings in the results of the French land laws might have been avoided if the hatchet had not been used when the knife was sufficient. But the case for small proprietors is all the stronger, if the subdivision of land, even when carried too far, can be shown to have produced something like a magical prosperity.

Now it can, I believe, be demonstrated that the substitution of small for large proprietorship worked well in France from the first. The time chosen for the experiment was singularly unpropitious. France had just passed through a disastrous revolution, or was engaged in wars which were not less disastrous because they were at first successful. The prices of all manufactured articles were kept high by an English blockade. All the able-bodied men, after a time all the able-bodied boys, were swept into the army by the conscription, and the fields were left untilled. When war at last ceased, France was drained to provide the cost of a heavy indemnity. None the less was Paul Louis Courier (whose incomparable works are too little known to Englishmen) able to write in 1819:—

"The more the land is broken up, the more improved and prosperous it is. Experience has demonstrated it. A property sold five-and-twenty years ago is at present broken up into ten thousand holdings, which have changed hands twenty times since they were first alienated, and have always been better and better farmed (we know it, with the new owner come new toils and new experiments); the old produce would not pay the present taxation. Build up again somewhat the old fief by the methods which the *Conservateur* points out, and let every holding go back from the working yeoman to that excellent *seigneur*, adored by his vassals in his country-house, to be held by him and his heirs in perpetuity to all time; his heirs will not work at all, and his vassals very little. * * * I was not born yesterday, and I have my recollections. I have seen large estates and rich abbeys; that was the time of good works. I have seen a thousand paupers receiving a thousand basins of soup in the gate of Marmoutiers. When the convent and lands were sold I saw for several years neither basins, nor soup, nor paupers, till the brilliant reign of the Emperor and King, who restored every kind of beggary to honour. Time was I saw the duchess who stood godmother to our bells on the day of St. Andoche, give fifty gold louis to the building, and ten crowns to the poor. The poor have bought her lands

and country-house, and give nothing to any one. Since people have taken to work, almsgiving is dying out, and will soon be extinct, if the Holy Alliance does not take the matter in hand."

I have given this testimony at some length, not only because it is that of a French nobleman, and a man of singular ability, but because the writer testifies to the suddenness and completeness of the change for good which the subdivision of land in France brought about. The writings of Laing and Thornton are so familiar that it is scarcely necessary to quote their testimony to the same effect. I must hurry on to the facts of the present day. It is notorious that since Waterloo, when the restoration of peace allowed the new system to have a fair trial, French prosperity has been exposed to several rude shocks. There was a revolution in 1830, and another in 1848, and another of the worst kind in 1851; and an epoch of costly wars under the Second Empire was closed by those tremendous disasters which are fresh in our memories. The loss sustained by the State altogether during these periods is, of course, not to be computed; but the registered loss, in the shape of State debts, contracted in less than seventy years, is about seven hundred and fifty millions,* and even this does not represent all the outstanding liabilities, or the increase in local debts, which in many cases have been doubled. Is it overstrained to say that France under these unparalleled losses has displayed an elasticity that has taken the world by surprise? An indemnity greater than the debt that broke down the old monarchy has been paid almost, as it seemed, without an effort. With every possible deduction for the effects of gold discoveries and a sounder commercial policy, for some growth of population and some diminution in the value of money, it remains, I think, demonstrated that the greatest interest of all in France, the agricultural, must be solidly prosperous where such results have been achieved.†

But the practical point for my purpose is to ascertain how far the people, the land, and the produce of France, have been affected by

* *Statesman's Year-book* for 1875, p. 66.

† The London *Times* of Wednesday, Jan. 10th, says, in an article analysing the French Budget:—"We see how eminently the national resources are agricultural in the great contributions from the soil. The Land Tax yields nearly £7,000,000, and the receipts of the Registration and Mortgage Duties come to more than £18,600,000. In great part these duties are so fruitful, because the French law of succession makes the ownership of the soil constantly move from one hand to another. Small as well as large patches of land are sold every day in all the Communes, and they form the favourite investment of the peasantry."

the change of tenure. I must start, for convenience' sake, from the question of the hired labourer's wage, on which the Bureau of General Statistics in France throws much light in a report published about three years ago.* According to this, the average wages, with board, paid throughout France (except in Paris) to unskilled labourers of all kinds amounted in 1871 to 1 fr. 40 centimes, or about 12s. 9d. a week, if we take rations at 6s. a week, the value established by the difference in wages where no rations were given. The maximum wages at the same time were about 14s. 8d. a week, with the same allowance for rations. In eighteen years the increase in wages had been slightly over 45 per cent., while the increase in the cost of living had only been 33 per cent. It need scarcely be said that this report, ending in the year of the capitulation of Paris, is not the most favourable that could have been made. Yet it exhibits progressive advance, and what for the Continent is a high scale of remuneration. Compare the French labourer's state now with the same man's condition before the sub-division of property. "Taking in all," says M. Taine, "and reducing wages to an equivalent in grain, we find that the yearly work accomplished by the country labourer might then procure him 959 litres of corn; to-day it brings in 1851; thus his well-being has advanced 93 per cent." In the old time Arthur Young reckoned that the average French peasant was 76 per cent. worse off than his English rival. Will anyone say that an average wage of 12s. 9d. a week in France represents a state 76 per cent., or 5 per cent., or at all worse than that of the English farm-labourer?

This, however, represents but a small part of the case. Out of six million heads of families engaged in agriculture, about four millions are land owners owning from less than two acres and a-half to about fourteen acres. Now an official report by M. Monny de Mornay declares that the small proprietor is better off than the hired labourer. In the summary given by the *Pall Mall Gazette* of May 28th, 1869, the situation is thus stated:—

"The small holder who tills his land for the most part by his personal labour alone, undoubtedly secures to himself some substantial advantages. Acre for acre, he produces more, and may so be said to be more successful (putting out of sight the amount of labour expended) than the larger owner. His untiring exertions are rewarded by a greater return than those of hired labour; and the dearness and scarcity of labour and general want of capital

* I quote the results of this from an analysis made by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and reproduced in the *Statistical Journal* of March, 1874.

do not come so home to his class as to the classes above him. His conditions of life, like those of the agricultural class throughout Europe, have generally improved, and it is agreed on all hands that he is better housed, clad, and fed than he was thirty years ago."

In other words, one-third of the agricultural class in France may compare favourably with the English peasant, and the remaining two-thirds are better off still. Nor is this an ephemeral prosperity, purchased, as some suppose, by discounting the future. "The amount of debt on the peasant properties of France," says Professor Cliffe Leslie, "has been enormously exaggerated. M. de Lavergne estimates it at 5 per cent. on an average on their total value, and the marked improvement in the food, clothing, lodging, and appearance of the whole rural population is of itself unmistakable evidence that they are not an impoverished class, but, on the contrary, one rapidly rising in the economic and social scale. . . . Imagine the English agricultural labourers great buyers of land, and at the same time lending no small sums to the State."*

Let me now go back to consider what progress the English agricultural labourer has made during the last century. Fully to point the moral I wish to enforce, I must carry back my enquiry a little further than in France. A statistical work of the last century, "An Enquiry into the Prices of Wheat, Malt, &c.," gives very minutely the rates of labour and the prices of all the necessaries of life. This book states the wages of the labourer from 1730 to 1765, as averaging 10s. a week, and the price of wheat during the same time as averaging £1 10s. There were great differences, of course, in other respects from the prices that now prevail. Meat was much cheaper than at present, and coal rather dearer; but balancing one against another, and considering the great advantages which the peasant then derived from open commonage, I believe the general result is in favour of those times. The general prosperity of the country tempted the landed proprietary to procure Enclosure Acts, and there was a movement at the same time in favour of consolidating farms, and substituting large for small. Whether it were in consequence of this, or through the unhappy effects of the American war, cannot perhaps be said with certainty, but wages seem to have declined, while wheat rose during the latter half of the century. "In 1784," says Mr. Bear,† "wages generally ranged from 1s. 2d. to 1s. 6d. per day," and "wheat was selling at 40s. 4d.

* *The Land Systems of France*, pp. 298, 299.

† *Relations of Landlord and Tenant*, pp. 28, 29.

the quarter." Eleven years later, Arthur Young's enquiries in eighteen counties established that the rate of wages was still the same; but after 1791 the price of wheat rose in consequence of bad seasons and the war. Generally I think we may say that whereas the wages of the labourer had equalled a third of a quarter during the middle of a century, they were not more than a fifth at the end.

During the first part of the present century the enclosure of land went on with great rapidity; and something like four million acres were disposed of in more than 2000 Acts of Parliament.* Altogether, between 1765 and 1844, about a fifth of the soil of England had passed from common uses into the hands of private proprietors. Pauperism, however, was increasing at the same time in the agricultural districts. Pauli remarks, in his *History of England*, speaking of 1833, that within half a century the Poor Law rates had increased 300 per cent. and the population only 75; and he notes that the distress was least in the manufacturing districts, and highest in the purely agricultural parts. Clearly it would be unfair to compare the English labourer of his time with the French peasant. Happily better days dawned upon England. The commercial legislation of Peel and Cobden gave industry the freedom and stimulus it needed; the gold discoveries of California and Australia furnished our manufacturers with custom; and the peace, which the country enjoyed with rare exceptions, was fruitful of good results. Now if ever—when surplus labour can easily emigrate or find employment in the towns—when capital is abundant and science fruitful of results; when England supplies the best market in the world, ought the position of the English agricultural labourer to be good. It is fair to say that there has been real and great improvement. But we cannot, I think, say that it has done more than replace the peasant in the position of 1784. Assuming 12s. to be the average weekly wage in the agricultural parts of England—and we cannot I think place it higher, if we balance one county with another—this represents rather more than one-fifth of a quarter of wheat, on the average of five years (1870–1875) reduced by one of exceptional cheapness. No doubt the peasant of to-day has some advantage in purchasing clothes, fuel, and lights; but meat has become an impossible luxury, milk is dearer, and there is a sensible loss, as I have noticed, from the extinction of commonage.

Summing up then, we find results which may be broadly stated thus. In the last nine years the position of the French labourer

* Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, p. 157.

has improved 90 per cent., and that of the peasant proprietor even more; and this improvement has corresponded to a law for a subdivision of landed property, and is ascribed by most Frenchmen to its effect. On the other hand, during the last hundred and fifteen years the English peasant proprietor has almost disappeared; and the position of the English labourer has deteriorated by from 30 to 40 per cent. This change has corresponded with a concentration of landed property in the hands of a few large proprietors. In 1789 Arthur Young said that an Englishman who had not travelled could not imagine how the greater part of the French peasant farmer looked. In 1871 M. Taine, a warm admirer of England, tells the world "how in this country the class of agricultural labourers, having no land of their own to farm, is the most unfortunate and the most brutalised."*

So far my results are sufficient for my own purposes. If it can be proved that the agricultural population has more comfort and self-respect, where land is subdivided among many than where it is concentrated in the hands of a few proprietors, the duty on all statesmen of encouraging subdivision seems to me self-evident. But there is a belief that the English system of large farms does its duty better by the land; and though Professor Cliffe Leslie and M. de Laveleye have done much to explode this fallacy, I am certain that it still has a dangerous vitality.

In the first place, then, English scientific farming has not produced any such great results since large farms became common, as it did before. There were great names in agriculture before the introduction of subsoil drainage and artificial manures. Professor Rogers has shown that the average produce of wheat to the acre in England, during the 14th century, was not more than from six to eight bushels, a result which will not astonish those who have studied the produce of land in new countries.† In the latter half of the sixteenth century Harrison states the average produce an acre at $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters, or 20 bushels.‡ "Arthur Young, in 1770," says Mr. Caird,§ "summed up the result of his enquiries at an average of 23 bushels an acre. In 1850 mine gave $26\frac{1}{2}$, the whole increase in eighty years being thus only $3\frac{1}{2}$ bushels. Careful enquiry and observation lead me to the conclusion that in the eighteen years

* Taine's *Notes on England*, p. 163.

† *History of Agriculture and Prices*, vol. 1, p. 55.

‡ *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 7, p. 229.

§ *Statistical Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 130.

which have since elapsed it would not be safe to take credit for an increase greater than $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushels." I do not wish to disparage such a result as an increase of five bushels in twenty-eight during a century. It is very great, and were it entirely due to science, would be very wonderful. But unless we make the bold assumption that all the corn imported under free-trade has gone to support the increase of population, we must assume that the effect of letting in wheat free was to throw some of the worse lands out of corn cultivation. I need scarcely point out that this rather important cause for a higher ratio in production must be discounted from Mr. Caird's second estimate. Probably, we shall not be far wrong in saying that the average produce of land was trebled or quadrupled in four centuries before landed property took its present highly concentrated form, and has increased by about a sixth since then. No doubt the difficulty of wresting the last bushels from the soil increases in geometrical ratio; and this comparison, therefore, does not represent quite fairly the merits of high farming. But on the other hand we must bear in mind that the small farmer of early days could not have our chemical knowledge or our mechanical appliances.

Next, as to positive results. It would not, I think, be fair to compare so vast a country as France, with its many differences of soil and climate, with a singularly rich country such as England undoubtedly is. France having no coalfields of importance, has to set aside nearly twenty millions* of acres for timber, and these must of course be deducted from the food producing parts of its territory. Then, again, there are parts, such as the slopes of the Jura, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, and the district of Auvergne, where a territory with as large an acreage as Scotland only supports a population twenty per cent. greater. Lastly, some of the best part of France is devoted to industries that have no counterpart in England; five million acres, for instance, go to vines; and a smaller proportion to olives, madder, and beet-root. Roughly speaking, we may say that a population of thirty-six millions supports itself on an area of about seventy millions. In the United Kingdom a population of thirty-two millions (1871) cultivates altogether forty-seven million acres. But it does not live on them. It imported in five years (1864—1868) one-fourth of its corn, one-fifth of its butter and cheese, and one-ninth of its mutton; altogether, by Mr. Caird's estimate, one-fifth in value of its food. Assuming this rate to have

* Marsh's *Earth as Modified by Human Action*, p. 312.

been sustained, we must deduct more than six millions of the population we have assumed as unsupported by English agriculture. The rough result will be that it takes nearly two acres in France to support a life, and in the United Kingdom one and two-thirds. The result is, no doubt, to the English balance, but it will, I think, surprise most persons that it should be so small. The most marked point of inferiority is in the production of wheat, and Mr. Caird* (1869) quotes a letter on this subject from M. de Lavergne:—"Eight departments have a yield equal to the English average, but the forty-five departments which form the southern part of the territory do not yield more than ten hectolitres to the hectare (little more than eleven bushels to an acre). This feeble yield is caused in many of the departments by bad cultivation, and in the south by the dryness of the climate in spring." I need scarcely say that the most ardent advocate of subdivision does not plead that it will remedy dryness of climate, or that it will rapidly revolutionize the bad farming of an ignorant peasantry. On the other hand, the fact that eight departments came up to the English average may be fairly quoted in evidence that subdivision is not incompatible with good agriculture.

I have not left myself space to enter at any length into the question, How far the possession of land affects the character of the peasant? and I care the less to do it as the strength of the Liberal position is generally admitted to be on this side, and the Conservative argument is rather against small farms than against small farmers. But I cannot resist the pleasure of quoting a few lines from Hugh Miller, who spoke from a deeper knowledge of the working classes than most economists possess:—

"The deteriorating effect of the large farm system, remarked by the poet (Burns) is inevitable. It is impossible that the modern farm-servant in his comparatively irresponsible situation, and with his fixed wages of meagre amount, can be rendered as thoughtful and provident a person as the small farmer of the last age, who, thrown upon his own resources, had to cultivate his fields and drive his bargains with his Martinmas and Whitsunday settlement with his landlord full before him; and who often succeeded in saving money, and in giving a classical education to some promising son or nephew, which enabled the young man to rise to a higher sphere of life. Farm-servants, as a class, must be lower in the scale than the old tenant-farmers who wrought their little farms with their own hands."†

* *Statistical Journal*, xxxii, p. 71.

† *My Schools and Schoolmasters*, p. 116.

This, I take it, gives the gist of the whole argument for small proprietorship. It is not merely or so much that land subdivided produces more under equal circumstances than land in a few hands, but that the small proprietor is habitually educated by the interest he takes in his property, by the need of thought for the future, and by independence of a master. These advantages have appeared to many statesmen and economists so important as to justify the attempt to secure them by legislation. Unhappily, the one successful attempt, that of the French law, is opposed to English habits of thought as an interference with liberty of bequest. I confess to sharing this feeling myself, and as my object is to discuss results, not to advocate any special view unfairly, I will add that the eminent founder of Mettray, M. De Metz, once told me that the law had to some extent relaxed the family tie in France, by making children independent of their parents. Under any circumstances, it will be agreed that whatever will produce the result we aim at, with the least possible disturbance of the existing systems, is presunably to be aimed at.

In Australia, the land laws have, I believe, always aimed at facilitating sales to small holders, and at testing the genuineness of applicants by binding them down to certain conditions of residence and improvements. The difficulties in working this system are manifold. It is not easy to prevent the land being dummied; and even if it is fairly taken up and worked, the purchaser when he gets his title deeds cannot be precluded from selling to the large landowner. The system undoubtedly creates a class of men who take up land only that they may sell it again; and who in the interval have neither the steady habits of the average laborer nor the improving instinct of the genuine yeoman. Meanwhile, it is very much the interest of the landowner, as he understands it, to prevent agricultural colonies from growing up near his estate. Against the slight gain, that the farms may furnish him with shearers or with hands to beat out a bush fire, he puts the probability that his commonage will be encroached on, tracks opened up through his land, and the estate rated to local purposes. He will therefore buy out his poor neighbors even at some immediate loss to himself. Now a farmer as a rule cannot prosper except in the neighborhood of his own kind. There must be a township near him where he can buy stores, a mill where he can sell his wheat, and a certain population to help in carting his produce, or to supply laborers at haying and harvest time. Therefore, if a few men are

bought out, it is very soon the interest of the rest to come to terms with their neighbors and move to a new area.

I have assumed here that the large landowner is only influenced by the apprehension of loss from small settlers. But it need not be said that there are many other motives which operate strongly and in the same direction. It is not only in England that a man likes to look out over a large acreage and to feel that it is all his own. It is not only in Horace's time that the wish to round off a property by an outlying patch has carried away even cold-blooded men. Then too there is the tendency strong with all men to invest their gains in the kind of property that they are most familiar with, the disposition to speculate with money, which the banks readily advance on landed security, and the feeling, rarely disappointed, that land is at least a safe speculation. Were the yeoman as readily trusted by the banks as the large landowner, he would still be under two disadvantages: that moneyed men commonly prefer a few large investments to many small ones, and that crops on which little can be borrowed absorb more of the farmer's capital than the land he tills.*

For reasons such as these I assume that our present land laws will only achieve a temporary success. More and more as the State hands over their freeholds to the selectors will these part with them and emigrate to new and cheaper land. The question remains whether some third system other than the French and than our own existing one, cannot be devised to check the danger of a concentration of land in Victoria, such as is witnessed in the United Kingdom. Professor Cliffe Leslie has proposed "a limitation of the amount of land that any single individual shall take by inheritance," and has suggested provisions which Mr. Mill describes briefly as equivalent to "a sale of land at every succession to the extent necessary for clearing the remainder from all existing encumbrances."

"Without pledging ourselves," says Mr. Mill, "to this proposal, which requires mature discussion, we may remark that if it were adopted, the proprietor being no longer able to charge the land beyond his own life with a provision for younger children, must choose between leaving them a portion of the land itself, and selling a portion to raise money for their benefit. These

* Those who wish to consult the working of a system very like our Victorian land law, will find Mommsen's or Merivale's account of the agrarian laws of T. Gracchus very interesting. The Gracchan system was finally destroyed by the abolition of the residence clause, and by license to alienate. But a system that can only be maintained by such stringent enactments as these is at least highly artificial.

provisions combined would greatly restrict the power of keeping together large masses of land in a particular line of descent; and it might fairly be anticipated that a great increase would take place in the quantity of land which would annually be brought into the market."*

Mr. Mill however proceeds to urge that such measures, to produce any real effect, must be supplemented by buying from time to time, on account of the public, some of the land thus thrown on the market, and leasing it to small farmers or to co-operative associations of labourers.

Substantially it will be seen this scheme rests on the same principle as that I have proposed, and it is necessary to explain why I have deviated a little from a plan which comes with the high authority of Professor Cliffe Leslie. My feeling is that in one important class of cases, the law as amended by him could easily be evaded. An only son, succeeding to an unencumbered estate of a hundred thousand acres, and obliged to sell sixty thousand, could surely arrange a collusive sale, by which he might keep possession of the original estate. Then as regards the compulsory sale of encumbered land at the deaths of the head of the family, this, in Australia, would I think prove ruinous in bad years. Fluctuations of value are so great in a new country, where there is not as large a reserve of capital as in England, that land thrown suddenly on the market in time of drought or of an European war, would often, I fear, go for one-half or one-third its value. Nor is it, I suppose, unreasonable to think that Professor Cliffe Leslie had the United Kingdom in his view when he wrote, rather than Australia.

The objections that have been brought thus far against my proposal to limit the acquisition of land, have been from the Conservative side, that it is unjust, and from the Liberal, that it is too mild. The question of justice is that which is really serious. Begin with land, it is said, and you open the door for limiting the acquisition of property in any direction. The next Parliament, or the next generation, may go on to limit the amount of personalty which any man may acquire. You are thus tempting the idle and indigent to gratify their basest passions against the thrifty and rich, on whose well-being the community depends.

The first and obvious answer to this is that there is no real analogy between the cases assumed. Land differs from other property

* *Fortnightly Review*, vol. vii., pp. 651-652.

in several important respects.* It cannot be produced or extended at pleasure; its subdivision among the working class tends to make them independent and prosperous; its concentration in a few hands disturbs the political balance and throws power into the hands of a minority. Moreover, if there be reason to assume, as experience seems to show, that large proprietorship is commonly adverse to the existence of a large rural population, the State is directly interested in the distribution of land. It needs the yeomanry as an element in natural life; it needs population to feed its railways, to supply its factories, to make it powerful and respected by its neighbours. I may add that a country like Victoria, where the yield of gold seems to be diminishing, and where the want of coal must always stand in the way of manufactures, is especially bound not to cast away the advantages of a soil and climate singularly adapted for agriculture.

Then, again, it is surely true that, except under a reign of terror, personal property cannot be limited. A prohibitive tax on railway shares or bank shares, if held beyond a certain amount, would simply lead to a change in the owner's investments, and probably to a withdrawal of all he held from the country. The capitalist might experience some trifling loss in the transfer; but the loss of the State would be so immediate and so incalculably greater that I cannot imagine any people who have been educated by free institutions, sanctioning or even considering such a measure. Curiously enough, the progressive principle in taxation has been applied to personal property, both in England and in Victoria. In England small incomes have been exempted altogether, and the class above the smallest are more moderately taxed than the higher, for revenue purposes. In Victoria the succession duties go up from five to ten per cent., according to the value of the estate administered to. It seems difficult to understand why a progressive tax on land should be more iniquitous in principle than a progressive duty on successions.

But, lastly, analogy and precedent are in favour of the right of the State to limit acquisition in land. Nothing is more common than for the shareholders in an enterprise, or the partners in a firm, to provide

* "Landed property is felt, even by those most tenacious of its rights, to be a different thing from other property."—*Mill's Principles of Political Economy*, vol. 1, p. 285, 2nd ed. My space does not allow me to quote Mr. Mill's arguments. But as there is a disposition to suppose that his views about landed property became much more extreme in the latter part of his life, I think it well to notice that as early as 1849 he held that the State would be justified in commuting the average receipts of Irish landlords into a fixed rent-charge, provided the full market value of the land was tendered to them at the same time.

by the articles of association that no single interest shall exceed a given proportion. The State surely has as much right to see that it is not swamped by a few over-wealthy owners of *latifundia*, as a mining company to take care that it is not bought up by a small clique. Then as to precedent, there are two singularly apposite in English legislation. The first is that of the famous Mortmain Law, by which the State absolutely forbade the acquisition of land by a religious corporation. The fact that the Mortmain law is maintained by public opinion in England to the present day shows that for nearly seven centuries English opinion has never wavered as to the absolute right of the State to set its own safety above the rights of private proprietorship. Nothing can well be stronger than to say that a man shall not sell, or give, or bequeath his own land as he pleases, but English law rules that the sale, or gift, or bequest to a religious corporation is null and void. A second case of singular pertinence is of comparatively modern enactment. In 1797 a Mr. Thellusson bequeathed his large property in trust to accumulate for the benefit of his family, till a time when it was calculated the total amount would reach nineteen millions. Parliament having, as the result showed, miscalculated the "bursting-up" powers of Chancery administration, believed that public liberty would be endangered if such colossal properties were created. It therefore passed an Act limiting the period for which such trusts could be formed to a term that could not exceed twenty-one years. It would be easy, of course, to quote many other cases where the House of Commons has asserted a public control over private estates in the strongest manner. By the Irish Encumbered Estates Act (1848) it was provided that encumbered estates might be sold on petition of the owner or any one of his creditors. By the Act constituting the present Landed Estates Court (1858), encumbered estates were subjected to a similar court. By the Land Tenure Act (1870) the tenant farmer became entitled to a right in his improvements on his landlord's land. Nor has the British Government been slow to deal with the colonies in a similar spirit. It legalized the resumption of lands set apart for the Anglican Church in Canada. It has sanctioned the appointment of a commission to define on what terms land in Prince Edward's Island may be taken from its owners. *Salus populi suprema lex esto* has been its unvarying principle. Yet no one would seriously argue that the Government of Great Britain has ever shown a tendency to disregard the just rights of property.

Of course only experience can decide, whether the plan I propose

would be adequate to cope with the danger we have before us. It must be borne in mind that I have suggested a moderately progressive tax on estates of less than forty thousand acres, and dissuasive as it were to their formation, except where the profit from holding land in large quantities would be great. With this, it would I believe be safe to adopt as high a line as forty thousand acres, for the amount beyond which concentration is not to go. Properties of the largest size owe their formation, I think, to two reasons; pre-eminently, the tendency I have noticed in the banks to supply money for speculation to shrewd land-jobbers, and the rivalry of estated men, one with another. A limit which could not be passed, would also be a limit which few would care to attain.

An attempt has lately been made to establish a broad distinction between countries in which a law of entail prevails, and those like our own where the habit is not formed, and to assume that only the former are liable to the curse of overgrown estates. Seeing that, as a matter of fact, almost every old country has at one time or another adopted the principle of entail, there is some difficulty in refuting this theory. Yet nothing can be more certain than that large properties were already frequent in England before the law of entail was devised to keep them together; or again, that new aggregations are every day being formed in England, as men, enriched by commerce or manufactures, come into the land market. I quite share the dislike with which English Liberals regard the English law of entail. It opposes obstacles to the sale of land; it necessitates encumbrances on it, and it certainly encourages what Liberals generally regard as undesirable, the strong English feeling in favor of founding a family. But until it can be shown that the owners of heavily mortgaged estates are the persons most able to accumulate land, I must confess to thinking that the law of entail like most artificial legislation, tends to defeat its own purposes, to cripple the landowner, and extinguish the family. Certain I am that a study of family history in an average English county would show properties encumbered and families dying out in rapid succession. The real causes for concentration are I think sufficiently simple. Land gives power and social position and the command of field sports, and is a safe investment, and all these advantages are multiplied in proportion as an estate is vast. Human nature would be other than it is, if with all those inducements English capitalists did not contend emulously for the best investments in land.

To many no doubt the proposal to limit the acquisition of land,

while we have still so much unsold, seems absurdly premature. But surely it is of the essence of statesmanship to anticipate an evil, and to prevent vested interests in what is bad from becoming unduly strong. The efforts of the State for years past to encourage the small as against the larger proprietors have ended in this, that out of 12,264,576 acres which had been alienated on Dec. 31st, 1874, 5,006,787 were held by 340 persons; and 1,122,459 more by 426. In other words about half the alienated land is held by 766 persons. If we strike off from our total area of 56,446,720 acres, the 23,000,000 acres which Mr. Hayter describes as worthless, and the 1,882,133 included in reserves or in cities or in roads, we shall get a remainder which may be roughly put at thirty-one millions and a half, or rather less than the thirty-three millions accounted for in England and Wales. By the last estimate in *The Times* (Jan. 3), 5408 owners held more than half the area in England and Wales—or 18,695,528 acres. Assuming our present rate of alienation to be maintained, 2100 owners would hold seventeen million acres, or more than half the productive area of Victoria.

But even were it honest to hold our hands while vested interests in a vicious system are being consolidated, and to salve our consciences by providing, for instance, that a law of limitation should come into force whenever our whole freehold had been parted with, I venture to think it is impossible, for practical reasons. The large and the small land owner cannot exist side by side. To the large-acred man and speculator in land, the yeoman will always be what "the mean white" was to the southern planter, an object of suspicion and distrust, to be counted with and endured as a political force, but also to be kept down, bought up, and shunted off to outlying districts. So far from believing that the concentration of land will diminish during the next thirty years, I believe it will go on with increasing rapidity. The settlers are acquiring the right to alienate their freeholds, the fund from which the land-jobber can borrow is growing year by year, and Riverina cannot always continue to absorb the surplus capital of our wealthy class. Therefore it seems time to decide whether we will look on helplessly while the colony is absorbed by a few men, or will try, other systems having failed, what a measure directly aimed at accumulation can do. The question has been first forced upon Victoria, but will very soon have to be discussed in the sister colonies.

CHARLES H. PEARSON.

BIBLICAL INSPIRATION.

WITHIN the domain of dogmatic theology there is not perhaps a doctrine which has been more fully discussed, or more exhaustively examined and criticised by able and earnest men in the present day, than that which is termed "Biblical Inspiration;" and the result has been the promulgation of various theories, all of which are more or less destructive of the popular or "orthodox" belief in the plenary or verbal inspiration of Holy Scripture. My object in this paper is not to maintain or refute the arguments already adduced in support of these theories, or even to advance any new theory of my own, but simply to lay before my readers the conclusions to which a careful study and consideration of the subject of inspiration would naturally lead a Christian man of average thoughtfulness and intelligence who claims for himself the right to form and express his own opinions upon the important theological questions of the day, together with the facts and arguments which have led to such conclusions. Amidst the confusion and discord of the theological elements which surround us on all sides and so sorely perplex us, I have been constrained for my own satisfaction to examine carefully and impartially, amongst other "Articles of Faith," the much-vexed question of Biblical Inspiration, and to try and determine for myself how far the popular theory of the verbal inspiration or literal infallibility of Holy Scripture is in accordance with known facts, and the requirements of the sacred volume itself. And having arrived at the conclusion, as the result of my investigations, that this theory is untenable, I do not hesitate honestly to state my convictions, although thereby I shall doubtless lay myself open to the charge of being "unsound" in the Christian faith, "rationalistic," and "unorthodox" in my theology. Whether this charge be a just one or not, depends entirely upon whether I have taken right or wrong views of certain facts which are within the knowledge of every biblical student, and which so far as I know are undisputed, relating to the history and composition of the books of Scripture, and not at all upon the teaching of the articles and formularies of the Anglican Church, which are entirely, and I think significantly, silent on the subject of Inspiration.

The theory of the verbal inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures, I take to be this:—That from the first chapter of Genesis to the last

of Revelation, every chapter, verse, and word is directly inspired by the Holy Ghost; that when Moses, David, and Isaiah, or Matthew, Paul, and Peter, and the other Old and New Testament authors, sat down to write their various histories, prophecies, poems, epistles, and gospels, the Spirit of God dictated every word written therein, so that the idea of verbal mistakes, errors or variations is absolutely excluded from their writings; hence that the Bible not only contains all the revelations which God has communicated to man (which is an article of our faith), but that every sentence is a divine revelation, so that the Old and New Testaments are to be regarded not merely as "the Word of God," taken as a whole, but as constituted of the very *words* of God only, without the admixture of any human element whatever. This, I think, is a fair and correct statement of the popular and orthodox theory of the verbal or plenary inspiration of Scripture.

Now surely reason and justice demand that before we are required to accept this rigid and literal theory of Bible inspiration, at the peril of being regarded as heterodox, we should satisfy ourselves that it is recommended to us by an authority which we cannot dispute or question—the authority of God Himself. Nothing short of this can reasonably be expected to convince us that every word written in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures has been unerringly dictated by the Holy Ghost. And from the nature of the case, it is obvious that we must look for this authority only in the sacred books themselves, which are said to be thus verbally inspired. But it is an undeniable fact that not a single author of these writings has claimed either for his own composition or the composition of others this verbal infallibility, and that Jesus Christ, the greatest authority of all, does not refer to it. The very most therefore that can be claimed by the advocates or conceded by the opponents of this theory, is that the Scriptures are entirely silent on the subject. This fact alone might well excite a suspicion that the doctrine of verbal inspiration was unknown to the writers of the Bible themselves, and to Him concerning whom that Bible prophesies and speaks. And this circumstance appears to me sufficient to warrant us, not indeed in discarding the theory in question as false (for in the absence of any statements to the contrary it may be true), but to justify us in declining to accept it as a settled truth, without making ourselves obnoxious to the charge of "rationalism" and "infidelity."

But I maintain that there is abundant evidence relating to the

history, character, and composition of the sacred books which place it beyond a doubt that they can lay no claim to verbal inspiration or literal infallibility. There are many incontrovertible facts which compel us as reasonable men to reject this theory, and, as it has been aptly said by an eminent modern writer, "God would have us take facts for lessons." However desirable it may be in the abstract that there should be some standard of such infallibility, it is nevertheless a fact that no such standard exists. The state of the copies of the Bible which are now extant convincingly prove that the theory of verbal or literal inspiration will not bear examination and criticism, and if not, it cannot be the teaching of God Himself. And out of many others I advance the following statements, which I believe to be unquestioned and unquestionable facts in support of this proposition:

I. There does not exist in the world a single manuscript of any portion of the Old or New Testament which is an *original autograph*, consequently we have only copies or translations of the original.

II. There is not a copy of the Bible existing which is transcribed from any one MS., but all the Bibles we possess are made up of transcripts from many different MSS.

III. The most ancient MSS. from which our modern Bibles are compiled are all imperfect, and most of them only fragments.

IV. No MS. extant of the Old and New Testaments (Greek) which we possess was written earlier than the fourth century of the Christian era; and no MS. of the Old Testament (Hebrew), was written before the twelfth century after Christ.

V. No two MSS. either of the Hebrew or Greek Scriptures verbally agree, and there is not one of them which cannot be demonstrated to be verbally inaccurate.

Now from these facts it follows that the very best and most complete Bible we have in the original tongues is a compilation made by the industry and learning of uninspired men from many thousands of verbal and literal variations. The late Bishop of Melbourne, in his published lecture on the Bible, gives the number of the different readings at about 140,000. And if this be so, who can reasonably maintain that every word which is contained in our modern Bibles is literally infallible and unerringly inspired by the Holy Ghost? I know that it may be, as it often has been said, that although we may not now possess any copy of the Scriptures which is verbally infallible, yet that the original writings, those transcribed by the writer's own hands, were so; and that they have, in the course of ages, been perverted from their original purity by uninspired and

therefore fallible hands. But the answer to this is obvious. It is evident that we can only assert this on a bare *assumption*, having no facts to go upon but those which point to a directly opposite conclusion; and even when so decided on assumption, what interest would it be to us to be told that others, some thousands of years ago, possessed that infallible verbal revelation which is lost to us for ever? Moreover, it appears to us, to say the least, highly improbable that God would have granted so great a gift as that of absolute infallibility or verbal accuracy to His Scriptures at the time when they were written, and have withdrawn it immediately afterwards, leaving to all future generations the ungracious and hopeless task of restoring them to their original integrity and perfection.

But in order that we may see more clearly the force and value of the above facts in helping us to determine this question, it is very important to notice the testimony which our Lord Himself bore to the authority of the Old Testament Scriptures. Undoubtedly, on many and solemn occasions, He paid great reverence to the Hebrew Scriptures as a whole. In His temptation in the wilderness, in His last agony, and on other occasions, He quoted passages from them, and constantly referred to them as the Sacred Book of the Jews; the "Oracles of God," the authors of which He said spake and wrote of Him. He often expounded portions of the Old Testament; and, "It is written," "Have ye not read in the Scriptures?" "What saith the Scripture?" are words frequently on His lips, for the purpose of concluding an argument, rebutting an opponent, or silencing a gainsayer. But it is quite obvious that although Christ, from the repeated use He made of them, fully believed in the sacredness and substantial truthfulness of the Jewish Scriptures, yet He nowhere leads us to think that He regarded them as verbally and literally infallible. He treats them as a whole, as the inspired "Word of God," but never implies that they are entirely composed of the *words* of God; indeed His treatment of those books seems to preclude the idea that He so regarded them. In support of this view let me add a few more facts as undisputed as the last.

VI. That since the most ancient MS. of the Hebrew Scriptures we now possess is not older than the twelfth century after Christ, that is to say, was transcribed some sixteen hundred years after the latest of those books was originally written, it is quite possible that Christ had not access to any original autograph writings of the Old Testament to which He could refer, or from the pages of which He could make quotations,

VII. That when He did cite passages from the Old Testament, the quotations were made, not in Hebrew, its original tongue, nor in Greek, in which the evangelists wrote His history, but in the Aramaic or Syro-Chaldaic vernacular, and therefore was only a translation from the original.

VIII. That our Lord did not often use the words of the Hebrew Scripture, but most frequently quoted from the Septuagint version, a Greek translation supposed to have been made in the third century before His day, and which is acknowledged to be the least trustworthy and verbally faithful of all the translations of the Bible now extant.

IX. That it is by no means certain when and by whom this translation of the Seventy was made, whether it was translated in portions at different periods, or by the same authors at one time.

X. That the Septuagint bears no internal evidence that it is a divine and inspired translation.

XI. That it greatly differs from the original Hebrew MSS., from which our English Bible is compiled, in many important particulars; *e.g.*, (a.) In the Pentateuch, in more than a thousand places, the Septuagint follows the Samaritan, and not the Hebrew text. (b.) In the book of Job, some eight hundred sentences, or portions of sentences, which are found in the Hebrew, are omitted in the Septuagint. (c.) In many hundreds of places, the Septuagint is more a paraphrase than a translation. (d.) The Septuagint version of the Book of Daniel has, by almost universal consent, been superseded by another, on account of its numberless errors.

XII. That the authors of the New Testament wrote in Greek, whilst the Old Testament, from which they quoted, was written in Hebrew; and hence in no case do they give us the original words, but only a translation, made by themselves or others.

XIII. That these quotations are far more often made from the Septuagint than translated accurately from the original Hebrew.

XIV. That this imperfect translation of the Seventy they sometimes quote incorrectly, where it happens to agree with the Hebrew text.

XV. That many of their quotations do not agree in substance, either with the Hebrew or the Septuagint.

XVI. That the various writers of the New Testament quote the same passages from the Old, with verbal differences, so that in some cases not one of them follows accurately either the Septuagint or the Hebrew.

XVII. That some passages are apparently quoted by them from the Old Testament which cannot be found in it, *e.g.*, Matt. ii. 23; Matt. xiii. 35.

XVIII. That the evangelists, Matthew and Mark, not unfrequently quote from the Hebrew, whilst Luke quotes invariably from the Septuagint; and yet the quotations of all three often agree verbally with each other, where they do not harmonize either with the Hebrew or the Septuagint.

It will be remembered that the very inexact translation of the Seventy was highly revered by the Jews of our Lord's day, and He did not, even by implication, correct it, or protest against its authority, but constantly used it Himself in preference to the Hebrew, without reservation, as the "Word of God;" and throughout the whole of the New Testament it is far more frequently quoted by the Evangelists and Apostles than the Hebrew text. And it is very noticeable that there is not the slightest difference made by Christ, or the writers of the New Testament, between the formulas with which they introduce quotations from the Septuagint, even when most inaccurate, and those which appear to be translations from the Hebrew—"As it is written;" "What saith the Scripture?" "That it might be fulfilled, which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet," &c., are words used indifferently when introducing quotations, both from the Septuagint and from the Hebrew; from which it appears evident and conclusive that our Lord and His Apostles attached the same importance and sacredness to the one as to the other, although they differ so frequently and so materially in their *ipseissima verba*.

But the foregoing by no means exhaust the arguments against the popular theory of the literal infallibility of the Old Testament. There are many statements in the Hebrew Scriptures themselves which, independent altogether of verbal inaccuracies with which they abound, could not on any conceivable hypothesis have been dictated and therefore inspired by the Spirit of an all-good and omniscient God. To investigate, however, with any degree of exhaustiveness, this internal evidence of the non-verbal inspiration theory as applied to the Hebrew canon, would occupy far more space than could be accorded to an article in this *Review*; I shall therefore conclude this portion of my subject by comparing and contrasting two chapters in the old Testament, which record the same events, not only with many verbal differences, but also with discrepancies in matters of fact of a very important character, and which render it simply

impossible to believe that both were unerringly inspired or dictated by the Spirit of an omniscient God of Truth. These discrepancies, which are perfectly irreconcilable, will be made more apparent by placing them side by side in parallel columns, thus :—

2nd Sam., xxiv., v. 1.—“And the Lord moved David” to number the children of Israel.

V. 9.—“Joab gave up the number of the people unto the king, and there were in Israel, 800,000 men that drew the sword, and the men of Judah were 500,000 men!” or a total of 1,300,000.

V. 13.—“So Gad came to David and said unto him, shall *seven* years of famine come unto thee in thy land?” &c.

V. 24.—“So David bought the threshing-floor and the oxen for *fifty* shekels of *silver*,” equal to £5 of our money, at two shillings the shekel.

1st Chron., xxi., v. 1.—“And *Satan* stood up, and provoked David to number Israel.”

V. 5.—“And Joab gave the sum of the number of the people to David. And all they of Israel were 1,100,000 men that drew the sword; and Judah was 470,000 men that drew sword,” or a total of 1,570,000.

V. 11.—“So Gad came to David and said unto him, choose thee either *three* years of famine,” &c.

V. 25.—“So David gave to Ornan for the place, *six hundred* shekels of *gold*,” equal to £1,050 of our money, at £1 15s. per shekel.

It may be objected to the first quotation, that as it is quite evident that it was Satan and not God who tempted David to commit a sin, which entailed the destruction of 70,000 innocent victims, the substitution of “Satan” for “He” in Sam., in the margin of our Bibles, is the true reading, and does away with the discrepancy. But these marginal notes are of no authority; and clearly in grammatical construction, the “He” can refer to no one else but God. “The anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and *He* moved David,” &c., and not Satan, who is not alluded to; but even admitting this marginal gloss, it does not remove the difficulty, for in this case it is “the Lord” who stirs up Satan to instigate David to commit a crime, which still makes God, and not Satan, responsible for it and its awful consequences.

Both these accounts may be *substantially* true, but they cannot both be *verbally* true; either one or the other must be in the above particulars contrary to fact, both therefore cannot be literally infallible; hence both cannot have been dictated by the Holy Spirit. And as the two accounts differ so materially on questions of fact, how can we be certain that either of them is verbally accurate or infallibly true? With these discrepancies, how can we tell that the story, when originally written, did not differ verbally from both these accounts?

Without pursuing the subject further, I believe I have advanced more than sufficient evidence to make it appear to every honest and unbiassed mind, seeking after the truth, that the popular theory of the verbal inspiration or literal infallibility and accuracy of the text of the Old Testament Scriptures, is quite untenable, and must give place to one far more rational, elastic and intelligible.

Now with regard to the New Testament Scriptures, the task of proving the correctness of the non-verbal inspiration theory is made easy by the fact that we have the writings of four authors, each of whom has written an independent biography of Jesus Christ, and we thus have the opportunity of comparing the four histories with each other, by which we are able to demonstrate that the popular belief in the verbal inspiration of the Gospels has no foundation in fact. They record many events and many sayings of our Lord, with verbal and sometimes substantial differences which are too numerous to quote *verbatim*, but which are obvious to every intelligent reader of Scripture. I will, however, cite a few instances:—1. The superscription over the cross on Calvary is given by all four Evangelists, and each one with a verbal difference. 2. The Lord's prayer, as given by Matthew, does not agree verbally with that given by Luke. 3. In the account of the Temptation in the wilderness, by Matthew and Luke, the order of the temptations is not the same, and they differ in the words spoken by Satan to Christ and by Christ to Satan. 4. The accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper, recorded by Matthew, Mark and Luke, all differ in the form of words used by our Lord on that occasion, and these again all vary verbally from the account given of this event by Paul in 2nd Corinthians. 5. Matthew tells us that our Lord healed *two* blind men at Jericho; Mark and Luke, that only *one* was healed, the last stating that the miracle was wrought *before* Christ entered the city, whilst Mark says it was performed *after* He had passed through Jericho. 6. Matthew, Mark and Luke all record the stilling of the tempest by Christ, on the Sea of Galilee, but the words in which the affrighted disciples addressed their sleeping Master are given differently by each. 7. Mark and Luke say that the disciples went to Bethphage and brought thence a colt, or foal of an ass, only, on which Jesus rode into Jerusalem; Matthew informs us that they brought thence both a colt *and* its dam, and that the Lord rode on *both* animals, which, however, although corroborated by the prophecy quoted from Zechariah, of which it was a fulfilment, must of necessity have been incorrectly translated in the latter, or inaccurately transcribed from

the original. And there is not, I believe, one of the parables of our Lord, recorded in the Synoptic Gospels (for John gives none), or one of His miracles, which does not exhibit some, and often considerable verbal variations. Indeed, the Gospels abound in conclusive evidence that, whilst the authors have recorded the events of the Gospel history and the sayings of Jesus, with substantial truthfulness and fidelity, they can lay no claim to have been divinely inspired to write every sentence and word of their biographies with infallible and verbal accuracy. Our Lord Himself, so far as we know, gave no commission to the Evangelists or Apostles to write His life, or promised them verbal infallibility in what they wrote, either in the Gospels or Epistles, neither did he refer to any divine books which should be written by His disciples after His ascension; and not one of the Old or New Testament writers claims this superhuman gift, either for himself or for others, not even so much as by a hint or implication. And if they have not claimed it, and our Lord has not promised it, and all the facts and circumstances of the case are against the theory of verbal inspiration, where is the Christian charity which would regard those who decline to accept it as "rationalists," or "sceptics," because they maintain that the human element enters largely into the composition of the Bible, and that the theory of literal infallibility is not necessary to ensure its acceptance as of divine authority? It is enough for the Christian to believe and be assured that the sacred volume is substantially true and reliable, that it is composed of a number of ancient books which are inspired records—"God-inspired"—which records contain the "Word of God," *i.e.*, all the divine revelations which He has made to man as necessary to his well-being here, and to secure to him eternal life hereafter, and which He has promised to all true believers and faithful followers of His Son, so that as a whole we may accept and receive it as a divine revelation, and reverence it accordingly, and bow down to its supreme authority in spiritual matters as the Word of the living God, although not constituted of all the *words* of God. This appears to me to be the only reasonable theory of inspiration, and one which will eventually recommend itself to the minds and understandings of intelligent and reverent Christians; for it tends to make the Holy Scriptures more human and humanizing in their character, and hence more in accordance with human nature, whilst it does not derogate one iota from the goodness, mercy and love of God who has made this inestimable gift to the children of men.

H. N. WOLLASTON.

ON THE TEMPERATURE OF ACUTE DISEASE.

COLONIAL statistics show that, of the deaths from all diseases, about half are from acute disease ; and again, that nearly half the deaths that occur are of children under five years of age ; his knowledge must indeed be small, who is not aware that almost all children's diseases are at some time, and frequently throughout their course, of an inflammatory character. In a word, taking the average, about half the members of every family die of acute disease. Beside this, are the infinitely more numerous cases of acute disease drifting into chronic, and others resulting in recovery. Each such attack imperils the life of its subject.

What is the value of the life of a married man with children ? Say that he is 25 years old, that he earns £250 a year, and that he lives till 50 years of age. His commercial value is £6,250, which provides support for his family and education for his children for 25 years. His example, his training, control and influence give his children the opportunity of a better character and position in the world than they would have, were he dead ; in addition to which is an unfixed amount of domestic happiness and public advantage. Similarly valuable is the life of the wife and mother, without whose influence how many homes are broken up, children die unnecessarily, and daughters wander astray.

It is an error to suppose that acute disease is necessarily highly fatal. On the contrary, the tendency of all disease is towards health ; but, that this goal may be gained, the requirements of the system to be able to fight a winning battle must be early acknowledged and obtained.

It becomes then of utmost importance that the mass of the people should have a means at hand, by which the first signs of the attack of the enemy may be known. Such mode must be such as to require almost no medical education for its application ; it must be reliable, uncomplicated, and comparatively inexpensive.

It will be found that in all acute disease, inflammation of some kind is present. This of course is so in inflammations of the lungs, of the pleura, the brain, &c. ; and perhaps only less evidently so in the fevers ; as in typhoid fever, where there is inflammation of certain glands of the alimentary canal ; in scarlet fever, with inflammation

of the skin and throat; in measles, with inflammation of the skin and mucous membranes, &c.

To speak shortly, inflammation may be defined as a condition in which redness, pain, swelling, heat, and an altered nerve condition are simultaneously present. It is not, however, for the lay mind to reason out, in the commencement of an uncertain case, the probable existence of all these conditions; but it is for him to be guided by some one of them, if such guide exist. Of these conditions, redness may be present without inflammation, as in blushing; pain, as in neuralgia; swelling, as in the hand, when a strap is tightened round the wrist; and local heat, as when the hands are heated before the fire, or by friction. On the other hand, redness and swelling may be present without being visible, as in inflammation of the lungs; pain may be slight or absent, as in typhoid fever. The altered nerve condition may be put on one side, as in itself beyond the appreciation or inclination thereof of the ordinary lay mind.

While, however, local heat, that is, increased heat, in some small space may be present in the absence of inflammation, we may lay it down as an axiom, that increased heat of the trunk is never present without the co-existence of some inflammatory disease, dangerous to life. It is thus evident that, if the heat of the body be found to be increased, direct knowledge results that dangerous acute disease is present.

But in order that the value of a deviation in the temperature of the body may be properly appreciated, it is necessary to be acquainted with the healthy state of the body heat.

The normal temperature of the body may be stated to be $98\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, with a margin of one degree above or below this standard for idiosyncrasy, variations, digestion, exertion, sleep, &c.; and it may be regarded as a rule, that the heat of the body in health does not exceed $99\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; and that considerable suspicion should be attached to even that heat, if coincident with general malaise, or a disordered or indisposed state of the sensations.

This almost unvarying standard of heat of the body in health may be regarded as the index and crowning evidence of the perfection of our formation, and of our condition; for while on the one hand, as has been before stated, there can be no increased body heat without acute disease, the converse is equally true, that no acute disease can be present without an increase of body temperature. It may be therefore worth while to consider the mode of production of heat in the body, as well as the retention and removal thereof; on

which latter conditions depends the healthy balance at the standard point, while the external heat of the atmosphere may vary from minus 70° in the arctic regions to about 150° in the tropics, or a range of 220° .

The heat of the body is formed by the chemical combination of the oxygen, taken into the lungs in the air we breathe, with the carbon and hydrogen present in the blood from the destruction of tissues caused by the performance of functions necessary to or coincident with life: for there is destruction, or a using up of tissue, in every movement; whether it be a muscular action, as the shutting of the hand, the beating of the heart, the drawing of a breath, or the mastication or digestion of our food; in every nerve action, as in thought; in the exercise of the passions, as anger, fear, excitement; in the uses of the senses, as in sight, taste, smell, hearing, sensation. The chemical union of such oxygen with such carbon and hydrogen, is effected with a production of heat, which is sufficient, not only to maintain the temperature of the body at its normal standard, $98\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, but also to allow for other modes of its consumption. It is found in other creatures, whose normal standard temperatures differ, that those having the higher temperature have the more rapid respiration; thus the insects and birds, breathing most rapidly, have the most extensive respiratory apparatus and the highest temperatures. The rule thus obtains that the temperature of the body is proportionate to the rapidity and extent of the respiration.

Again, friction of various parts of the body against each other, or external objects, produces an increased heat formation.

Over these sources of heat production the nervous system presides, and thereon depend the contraction and dilatation of blood vessels.

Body heat being thus constantly produced, it is essential, if the body is to be maintained at a fixed standard of $98\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, that means shall exist for the removal of such as is surplus. This is effected by the consumption of heat in raising the temperature of the air inspired from say 70° , at which it enters the mouth on a "temperate" day, to about $98\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, at which it quits it; that is about 30° . The air too leaves the lungs saturated with moisture in the form of vapour, a large amount of heat being consumed and removed in the conversion of water into the form of vapour. Heat is also removed by radiation, or the approximation to our bodies of a medium colder than ourselves, as the ordinary air; and especially when we are in water, which is less amenable to the counter effect of clothes. Again, the body is

constantly giving off water in the form of perspiration, which, at times visible as drops of fluid, is never altogether absent in the form of insensible evaporation. In these processes, latent heat in large quantities is removed; and in such proportion, that in health, though the formation of heat by exertion or otherwise may have been excessive, such perspiration, &c., is in sufficient degree to maintain the general body temperature at about its normal standard. The quantity of heat removed under the ordinary conditions of life, and therefore formed in excess of what is absolutely required for the purpose of only maintaining the body at $98\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, has been estimated by Vierordt to be sufficient to raise the heat of an ordinary half-pint (eight ounces) of water from freezing to boiling point every minute.

Now, in acute disease, this balance between heat production and heat removal, is upset. Firstly, it is common that a chill to the surface of the body is the commencement of the illness, whereby the natural removal of heat by the evaporation of perspiration is prevented; heat, thus delayed in its removal, tends to be retained in the body. Secondly, in time of increased heat of body from disease, it is usual for the skin to be hot and dry; showing that the heat is not leaving the body in the form of vapour, as is its wont in health. Thirdly, in inflammation, there is an increased heat production by local increased destruction of tissue; and perhaps, as in the fevers, by a fermentive process. Fourthly, in acute disease there is inflammation; and where there is inflammation, there is obstruction to the passage of blood through its vessels; thus heat formed in such situation is not synchronously carried onward, but remains there deposited, and the temperature of that part is of itself increased; which, if the inflamed part be extensive, is of sufficient force and strength to affect the heat of the whole body. Fifthly, by the existence of inflammation itself, the heat formation is increased; for if the temperature of the body be raised, the rapidity of respiration is increased, to which it has been shown the temperature of the body is proportionate; thus, while the local inflammation with its attendant conditions raises the heat of the body, the sensation of such heat by the body induces more rapid respiration, whereby chemical heat formation, as before described, occurs more considerably; while the means of healthy heat removal are more or less obstructed. Under these circumstances it is only to be wondered at, that the extreme heat of the human body in life has never been certainly known to be above $112\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.*

* Wunderlich.

and but rarely above 109° ; while I have never found it above 107° , and then only in a fatal case. Thus we find that in acute disease the removal of heat is in the first place hindered by the induced conditions of the body; and secondly, that there is an increased heat formation. In general terms, with reference to the temperature of the body, we may say that in health there is a perfect balance between heat production and heat removal, so that a standard of $98\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, within a degree above or below, is invariably maintained; which balance in acute disease is lost and the temperature is increased.

It is then to be regarded as an axiom, that in acute disease the temperature of the body is raised.

But, assuming that the temperature of the body be raised at a single observation, what information is derived therefrom; or, in other words, is the converse of the above axiom true? Is it essential that, if the temperature be raised, acute disease is present?

The information derived from a single observation of a high temperature, say 100° or more, of the medical thermometer is limited; but thus much is realised :—

Firstly, That the heat balance, which is maintained during health, is upset. It is therefore evident, that the body has been unable to resist the strain put upon it by increased strength of the opposing forces or its own abnormal debility, and that it has to this extent succumbed.

Secondly, That, the balance being now upset, the body is certainly unfit to resist the strain of the ordinary opposing forces, as exertion, excesses, sudden changes of temperature, &c.

Thirdly, That, a diseased action having been set up, there is no certainty as to when it will cease, or to what extent it will run.

In short, the moment the thermometer shows a temperature of 100° or upwards, there is evidence that that person stands over a mine, the final upshot of which is only known by the termination; and that immediate steps should be taken to reduce the danger to the minimum. On the other hand, a single observation on a person not affected with previous disease, with a heat not exceeding $98\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, shows him not to be suffering from acute inflammatory disease.

So much information does one observation of an increased temperature convey. Far more knowledge is gained, if a succession of such observations be recorded. In general terms it may be said that, if the temperatures taken at the same hour on succeeding days

increase, the disease is progressing, and the patient is worse; if it be the same, the patient is no better; while if it be subsiding, convalescence is occurring.

Examples of knowledge thus gained are the following:—A child of two years of age is cross, dozy but not sleeping well, with the eyes unequally closed, thirsty but not hungry, apparently in no particular pain; the digestive organs act sufficiently well, he has a slight cough but the lungs are sound; is cutting some teeth, and has a pulse of 130. Is this child in danger? The temperature is found to be 104° , and it may be confidently asserted that great danger exists from threatened convulsions induced by the irritation of the teeth. The appreciation of the danger induces proper and thorough attention. Later, when in a sleep so sound and quiet that the body scarcely moves; when the skin feels damp and chilly, and a weakness and prostration occur, the more marked from the previous existence of feverish excitement and restlessness, is the child sleeping the sleep of convalescence, or rapidly sinking? A temperature of about 99° will be present, if the former; but of some degrees higher, if the latter.

A young mother thinks she is doing admirably, but had a restless night and flying pains; all else seems well. It is the third or fourth day. Shall her diet be increased, and restraint be somewhat relaxed? If her heat be found to be above 100° , the flying pains are to be held to be an indication of the commencement of some inflammation of veins, or of some childbed fever; additional care is then necessary to stop it, before it has taken such hold, as that a fatal end may take the place of a happy hearth.

A boy lies about the house, says he has a headache and looks dull; yet he eats pretty well, and examinations at his school are on. He is an idle boy, not very strong, nor caring much for play. Perhaps he lies up for a day or so, and says he is well again; yet, presently, he does not know his lessons, and says he does not feel well; and this has been going on for a week. Is he shamming, or is he ill? If his temperature exceed 100° , and he have no other marked symptoms, it is probable that he is suffering from the early stage of typhoid fever; and every day he is up and eating ordinary food, a stronger hold is given to a disease of itself terribly insidious. In old times, when the medical thermometer was not so invariably used at home as it now is, it was not uncommon for soldiers so affected to be discharged from hospital as cured, to perform their regular duties at a time when the disease was in reality at its height: the next

intimation of their condition was their readmission to the hospital in a dying state.

Such cases are the following, though they were not soldiers:—Lately two men—one old, one young—were admitted to the Alfred Hospital, said by their friends to be suffering from debility. Both were but slightly conscious, and could not answer questions. Both felt cold to the hand, and a clammy perspiration covered their heads and extremities. They seemed constantly dozing, but always restless. They were scarcely thirsty, being scarcely sufficiently conscious. No other marked symptoms existed; no spots, no raving, no cough; nothing except excessive debility. What was the matter with them? Their temperatures were about 104° , and the diagnosis was “neglected typhoid fever,” and the prognosis, “a fatal issue.” The peculiarity of lesion incident to this disease was afterwards found.

But it may be said the pulse was fast and feeble; yet in the same state it may be slow and of fair power, and end as quickly fatally. The sensation of cold and clamminess, here so marked, is a good illustration of the entire unreliability of the hand to properly and accurately, or indeed even broadly, appreciate the real heat of the body suffering from acute disease; for the perspiration ushering in death may closely simulate that of defervescence and commencing convalescence: but in the former case the temperature will probably be found to be 103° or thereabouts; in the latter nearer 99° .

Again, a man has been drinking for some days, and on a cold night has lain out in the open air, or damp or otherwise; and on the following day complains of his chest or his head. Is he suffering a normal recovery, or is he dangerously ill from cold caught; for if he have acute disease in this condition, he is most dangerously ill? Such a man may easily die of inflammation of the lungs in a couple of days. The thermometer decides the question.

A patient has been ill in bed; he lives in the bush far from a doctor who comes but seldom, and much is necessarily left to the judgment of the friends. Is he well enough to get up, as he wishes and feels able to do; or is it certain, that by so doing he will induce a dangerous relapse? Again, having got up for the first time, and feeling presently very tired and weak, has damage been done requiring renewed rest, and a prolongation of the former treatment; or is this only debility, the necessary result of so long and serious an illness? All this the thermometer tells.

Again, in some man similarly situated, who has met with some accident, perhaps only a bruise and scratch to the head or elsewhere,

is he doing well ; and shall hot applications or cold be used? If the temperature exceed 100° , it is certain that inflammation of some kind, perhaps erysipelas, is commencing ; that the question of taking medical advice is to be considered ; and that in the meantime warm moist dressings should be used, while cold ones would be highly injurious.

The knowledge of the existence of acute disease having been thus gained at its earliest stage by the patient or his friends in a manner merely mechanical, and within the capability of any layman, the most essential part of the necessary treatment is at once certain and easy of application.

What treatment does then become absolutely necessary ?

Since it has been shown, that in acute disease heat formation is in excess by excessive destruction of tissue, while some sources of removal of superfluous heat are comparatively inoperative, it is evidently desirable to stop all sources of additional heat production and tissue destruction. Thus all unnecessary muscular movements and brain action should be restrained ; and in such a manner that rest of the most complete kind may be obtained. Again, where there is inflammation, there is obstruction to the circulation through certain blood vessels ; and the greater the pressure from behind, the greater necessarily must be the increase in such obstruction, and therefore of the inflammation. It is therefore most important, that the action of the heart, the human pump, should be restrained within the narrowest limits ; and since exertion of any kind increases the heart action, such exertion is to be avoided. The layman then, who finds the temperature of a person, not suffering from old-standing disease, at or above 100° , is at once aware that entire rest is essential, that the natural tendency of all disease towards recovery and health may have fair play.

And such rest should be in bed ; for it is there most complete, and circulation is not interfered with by the pressure of various modes of dress : the difference between the refreshment to the body of a night in bed and of a night spent in day-clothes on a sofa is well known. The feet too should be raised ; for the column of blood extending from the feet to the level of the body has then not to run uphill, but only on the level. Again, excessive heat formation is probably occurring chiefly in the trunk ; and the extremities tend to become chilled by the distance of their position from the centre of the body ; such chilliness of these parts tends, by the absence therein of such quantity of blood as could be present without

disadvantage, to compel the presence of a larger and unnecessary amount of blood in the trunk, and especially in the part inflamed. It is therefore most important that the extremities be raised to a level with the body, and kept warm; if necessary with hot bottles. This is most effectually done in bed.

But it may be said that "bed weakens." Yes; if a healthy but lazy fellow lie in bed, he loses power from absence of use of his muscles, which become flaccid, soft and comparatively powerless; as is the case with all organs in disuse: but in time of acute disease, bed does not weaken. It is true that in bed, muscular exertion is not induced; but this has been shown to be injurious under the conditions of the argument, and therefore impracticable; but the disease, burning the candle at both ends by its increased destruction of tissue as has been before shown, does weaken in proportion to its violence and extent.

Shall the person who has been suffering from a shivering fit after a wetting or otherwise, have some stimulant, as a stiff glass of brandy and water? Though shivering be present, the medical thermometer will in the case of the attack of acute disease certainly show a high temperature; and if alcoholic stimulants be given, the power and extent of the disease will certainly be materially increased. It has been shown, that it is important that the action of the heart should be kept as quiet as possible, lest an increased quantity of blood be forced into the engorged blood-vessels of the inflamed part. Alcohol, as is well known, stimulates the heart's action, making it contract more firmly and rapidly; thus producing the very effect we desire to prevent. Therefore alcoholic stimulants are at such times to be studiously avoided.

We here see a condition in which, from diseased nerve action and altered brain appreciation, the sense of the sufferer leads him to suppose that he is cold; that is, colder than usual: yet, when his heat is gauged by a thermometer which cannot err, it is found that he is so many degrees hotter than he should be. Thus, while a man's custom or inclination might lead him at such time to take some spirit to warm his body, in reality the effect is only to alter the diseased sensation in his nerves; a matter of no moment. As well, or rather as harmfully, might a patient, delirious in fever, be permitted to do as he likes, jump out of the window, or otherwise injure himself. In either case there is diseased nerve action. Yet this sensation of chilliness is better remedied, and with perfect safety and advantage, by a warm bland drink as a cup

of tea, hot bottles to the feet, and rest in bed. The tea warms up the extremities of the delicate and sensitive nerves of the stomach, and is closely applied to the great solar plexus of nerves in the trunk, doing no harm. The hot bottles attract the blood from the trunk, where it is, by the irregularity of its circulation and its excess, highly injurious, to the feet, where it can do no harm; and in bed the whole body tends to become of equal heat.

And what of food? Shall the child with a high temperature be induced or permitted to eat heartily of something tempting to his appetite, which for ordinary food had failed; or is such food to be regarded as detracting exactly by so much from his chance of continued existence?

Digestion is carried on in health by a series of contractions and dilatations of the stomach, extending over a period of some hours, four being the average number for one meal. Muscular contractions take place only with waste of tissue and production of heat. It has been proved, that waste of tissue and production of heat should be reduced to the lowest possible degree, which is not compatible with the digestion of a full and heavy meal. Again, in acute disease, the nerves have been shown to be out of order; and since they preside over the function of digestion, it is out of order, and the complicated process takes place in an abnormal and feeble manner. The food is thus either presently rejected through the mouth, which is to be desired; or is passed onwards, a source of irritation conducing to the increase of the disease.

On the other hand it has been shown, that in the evaporation of water a large amount of heat is carried off. Since too much heat is being formed and retained, it is evident that it is an object to provide as far as possible for the removal of this heat, in such a manner that no injury be done. If then, instead of loading the enfeebled stomach with solid food which it is incapable of digesting, a fluid diet be given, the water therein so largely contained will be evaporated off by heat to the advantage of the sufferer. The diet taken should therefore be of a liquid character; and it has been before shown that it should be unstimulating and as easy as possible of digestion. Milk is the closest thing to blood in the way of food; the youngest creatures live entirely upon it, thrive and grow. We are therefore justified in concluding, even without the additional evidence of analysis, that milk contains all the ingredients essential to life; that it is the easiest food for the digestion that exists, since it is the natural diet of the youngest and most delicate mammiferous animals;

and it is the most suitable as the diet of the sufferer from acute disease. The stomach of the sick man, in the feebleness of its digestive power, has been shown to be similar to that of the young child; in whom it is little more than a slightly dilated portion of the alimentary canal, without much power of muscular contraction, capacity of digestion or absorption of solid food. In the young child, the natural milk is of very poor quality, having only about the strength of a mixture of half cow's milk and half water. This diet then, will be found to be at once the most acceptable, advantageous and least injurious to the patient, quenching his thirst, removing his heat, nourishing with least expenditure of force, and in the most natural manner.

For the rest, since the patient should neither be heated nor chilled by the air of the room, its temperature should be temperate, that is about 70°. Since it is desirable that the air he expires should contain the largest possible amount of heat-containing vapour, the air should be dry; and since it is desirable, that as much as possible of the *débris* of the destroyed tissues should be removed from the body, which it serves only to clog, and so impede the performance of the natural functions essential to life as breathing, &c., the air should be pure by means of a sufficient ventilation without draught, in view of the necessity for its equal temperature. The clothing should be such as is comfortable to the patient, without producing excessive heat of body, whereby removal of the superabundant heat is prevented; avoiding sense of chilliness, whereby the blood is driven inwards, the inflamed part becomes more congested, and the functions of the skin are hindered; so that reduction of heat by evaporation therefrom is diminished.

We thus find that, if the temperature of the body of a person previously healthy be found to be over 100°, there is evidence of the presence of a condition of things showing at least the germ or commencement, if not the actual existence, of acute disease; that thereupon nature requires, for a fair opportunity of displaying her inherent tendency of disease to return to health, that there shall be entire rest of body and mind; that this includes rest in bed, an equal and comfortable heat of the various parts of the body, and a liquid diet without stimulants. If the adoption of such important conditions do not within twenty-four hours induce a return to the healthy state, as gauged by the thermometer, there should be no farther delay in taking the advice of those whose special study disease is. I will venture to say that, were the medical thermometer

in the hands of the mass of the heads of families, the percentage of deaths of those who perish in the youth and prime of life would be reduced from about half the whole number of deaths to something very small; and that the mortality from acute disease could be to a considerable extent stamped out, as has been so largely done with the contagious and infectious fevers.

But it may perhaps be objected, that the mass of the people are not so medically educated as to be able to understand the management of a delicate thermometer. It is the object of this paper to point out, how simple is such education; how easy such management; how certain the knowledge gained; how definite the necessary treatment; how immeasurably important the results.

The medical thermometer in its most handy pocket form is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, which enclosed in its silver holder resembles a pencil-case. It may also be had larger; that about 6 inches long being the most convenient for family use.* A straight glass tube, having a strong bulb at one end, contains mercury in the usual manner; and a small detached column of mercury forms an index, which, when raised to a certain position by the heat applied to the bulb, maintains that situation; so that its summit represents the degree of heat attained. This index can be shaken down to a lower position before use. The glass tube is marked in degrees from 90 up to about 111; each degree being further divided into five parts. An arrow is placed opposite $98\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, the normal standard temperature of the body.

The temperature of the body may be taken in many situations; but that of the trunk is that upon which we place reliance; for the extremities may be cold when the body is fevered. Among such situations, the mouth and the arm-pit are found to be the most convenient; and, of these, the armpit is least liable to produce error and accident. When in the mouth, a child, breathing, may be unable to understand that the mouth is to be kept closed; and the cold air inspired may thus render the observation unreliable or untrue. Again, the glass may be bitten in two by a delirious patient. Thus as it is important that all such thermometric observations should be estimated with regard to a certain well-known scale; and proportionately as between examinations at different times of the same patient, as well as of others, it will be found most satisfactory to

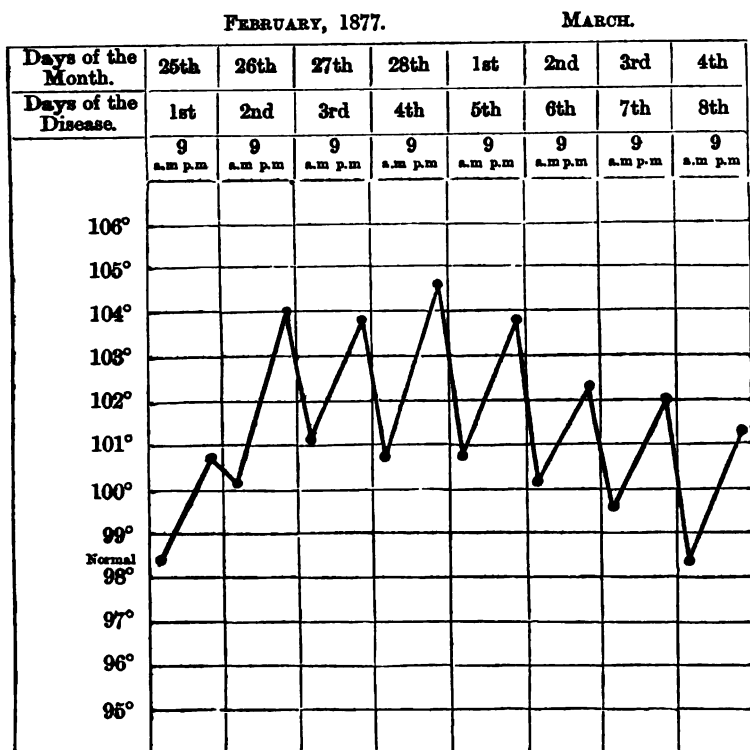
* Such thermometers may be had of any surgical instrument makers, as Messrs. Baillière of Collins-street, Jones of Lonsdale-street, &c. The price varies from 9s. to £1.

place the thermometer in all cases in the same situation; of which the armpit will be found to be generally most convenient, cleanly and reliable.

When a temperature is to be taken, the index of the instrument is by a jerk of the hand, repeated as may be necessary, to be shaken down, so that its upper end is opposite about 96° . The arm should be taken out of all thick clothes, so that the adjacent sides of the armpit may be seen to touch each other for two inches downward. The thermometer is then to be placed in the open armpit, so that the bulb reaches its upper boundary, deep in towards the shoulder; the arm is then to be closely applied to the side, so that the forearm and hand lie across the chest; if the patient be very thin, the flesh of the thick of the arm above the biceps muscle should be firmly pressed against the side: the upper half of the instrument is to project from the armpit, it being thus uncovered. Having been left in this position for a couple of minutes, the degree registered at the summit of the index should be examined, when, without shaking the thermometer, it should be similarly reapplied and presently again examined; and, if the index have risen higher than on the first occasion, it should be again inserted, that the real temperature of the body may be certainly known; and that a hasty and badly-conducted observation may not lead to wrong deductions. It is common to find the after results to be higher than the first; the thermometer having been inadequately applied, or our haste too great.

In a prolonged case, a sheet of paper should now be ruled in square checks like a chess board, and the dates of the days of the month be written in rotation at the top on the second line; the days of the disease on the third line; on the next succeeding, the hours at which the observations are taken, which should be 9 a.m. and 9 p.m., as shown in the annexed plate. At the left hand of the table, opposite the lines, should now be written the figures of the degrees of temperature, the highest at the top. Thus, commencing at the line below that on which are the hours, may be written 106° , then 105° , &c., down to 96° . Since each line represents its corresponding degree, a dot placed in the proportionate spot in the space above or below, indicates the similar part of a degree registered by the thermometer above or below that point; two observations daily, one for the morning and one for the evening, being so marked by a dot between each of the longitudinal lines. These dots may then be joined by a connecting line, when a map of the temperatures of a case is formed.

Map of temperatures in a case of acute inflammation of the lungs :—



Now, taking the case pictured in the plate, which describes the history of the temperature in an attack of acute inflammation of the lung, it will be seen that at 9 o'clock on the morning of February 25th, the heat in the armpit was $98\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, which at 9 p.m. had risen to 100 and four-fifths, or nearly 101° . This showed the presence of an acute and dangerous disease. On the following morning it had fallen $\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, but at night had reached 104° . It is now evident that the disease is rapidly advancing, and the patient is in great danger as to the final result; he may be a dead man within a few hours or days, the acute disease may become chronic, or he may happily have a speedy convalescence; but this is dependent upon the care taken, so that the system may have its chance of a fair fight with its assailant. In the morning the heat has fallen to 101° , which is encouraging; but as the morning temperature is always lower than that of the previous night, unless a most unfavourable course is being rapidly run, it is necessary always to compare morning temperatures with morning

temperatures, and evening temperatures with evening temperatures. The inferences then to be drawn from the fact that the heat at 9 a.m. on the 27th was 101° , are, firstly, that no immediately fatal termination is occurring; secondly, that the patient is not much worse than on the previous night; but thirdly, that he is worse by one degree than he was on the previous morning, the 26th. On the evening of the 27th, and morning of the 28th, he was very slightly better, only by the fifth of a degree; but still he was better by that much, and not worse than on the previous morning and evening respectively. On the night of the 28th, however, he was 104° and three-fifths, nearly a degree worse than on the preceding night; but on the following morning, the 29th, the temperature had fallen to the morning level of the 28th, which was so far auspicious. On the night of the 1st of March his heat was the same as on that of the 27th, and on the next morning was half a degree lower than on that preceding. We now notice what is called the "defervescence," or cooling down, for each morning and evening the heat falls about a degree below that of the preceding morning and evening respectively. We now know that the patient will recover, unless thrown back by some indiscretion; and we pronounce him out of danger. On the morning of March 4th, the heat is normal $98\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; but at night is 3° higher, yet lower than the preceding night; showing how easily the disease could be renewed; in a few days more, no night rise occurs, showing that the inflammation is gone, the fire is out, the balance of heat is restored, convalescence is established. It yet only remains, that the body should clean away from the part attacked the *débris* of the fire, the products of inflammation left behind; this will take time proportionate to the amount so left.

Such a picture as this shows us at a glance the day of attack, the rapidity of the advance, the days on which the disease was at its height, the turning point when the tendency of disease towards health and the power of the constitution to resist the attack asserted themselves, and won the battle; and the more or less slow, and perhaps intermitting manner, in which entire health was regained.

Nor is the picture thus drawn an exaggeration. On the contrary, much that is known by the initiated on the sight of such a temperature map is as yet untold. Nor is it desirable to enter into such details here; they are best learnt from books treating specially on the subject; but when it is stated, that several diseases have as many individual courses of temperature, separate and distinct from those of all other diseases, it will be understood that in such affections,

for the initiated to see the map of such temperatures, is to be able to mention the disease which gave the observations.

As a negative illustration of the simplest kind, a boy, said to have typhoid fever, was seen in the middle of the day, and was found to have a temperature of 103° . He had acute inflammation of the back part of the right lung; but that was no reason why he should not also have typhoid fever, of which the lung inflammation might be but a complication. It was directed, that his heat should be noted night and morning; and the disproportion between the temperature of that night and of the ensuing morning was not such as would correspond with that of the fever in question, possibility of which was therefore excluded; while in 36 hours from the first observation his temperature had fallen to the normal; whereby it was farther evident, that he was convalescent from his inflammation of the lung.

But it may be said, even if this certain deduction of the presence of inflammation from an increased temperature be true, that the fact of the existence of a low temperature does not disprove its existence. This is true; but, so far as I know, only in the case of some forms of diphtheria, overwhelming nerve-shock, and of some few diseases and during the period in which there is a copious draining away of the blood or other fluids of the body. Thus, if a person be attacked by acute consumption, in which the temperature is apt to range continuously at high rates, and in the midst of this condition a blood vessel should burst, so that there is a considerable loss of blood, the temperature may temporarily fall; only, however, shortly to rise to a heat probably greater than before. Similar drains from other parts of the body may produce similar depressions of temperature; the meaning of which should be readily appreciated, and a certain opinion of improvement at least deferred for farther confirmation.

The lay mind need not concern itself with rare exceptions to a general and well-proven rule; unless that some, isolated from the neighbourhood of doctors, are by their position compelled to educate themselves medically as far as they may.

In conclusion, if it were possible to induce all educated persons—and more especially all women, upon whom depend the lives of so many, not only helpless children, but equally helpless and, in sickness, not less careless men—to possess and know the general use of the medical thermometer; and to take up the idea with but part of the vigour with which they have discussed the snake question; such a blow would be struck at the mortality from acute disease, as would not only prevent the premature loss of numberless invaluable lives,

materially alter the relations of the death statistics, and increase the average duration of the life of man, to the advantage of the public welfare of the country, as well as of social and domestic happiness and progress; but would also probably in the future generations rob these diseases of much of their fatality by the strength of the line of the previously unimpaired constitutions which they had ineffectually attacked, and by the established stonewall of absence of opportunity of effecting a lodgment, now afforded by ignorance, for an insidious and active foe, too often only discovered as the citadel totters to its foundation. The physician might then indeed occupy his highest pedestal, becoming the preventer of disease; and not, as now, so frequently but the spectator of the last charge by a victorious enemy who gives no quarter, in a battle really fought out before his arrival; for the result of which, however, the public commonly holds him responsible.

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PHASES OF LONDON LIFE.

No. I.—CHRISTIE AND MANSON'S.

WHAT squatter with a good clip to play with; what civil servant "on leave;" what abounding American from New York or Chicago; what sojourner of any kind indeed, in London, has ever escaped from the great city-world without making the acquaintance of Christie and Manson's. Their rooms in 8 King-street, St. James's, have grown into one of England's institutions. What Smithfield may be for bullocks, or Mark Lane for corn, Christie and Manson's are for "Art." Here is the picture buyer's and the china collector's paradise. No mere vulgar knockers-down of chairs and tables, or even of houses and estates, are these æsthetical auctioneers. As I behold Mr. Woods, the junior member of the firm, walking towards his rostrum on a Saturday afternoon, I cannot but respectfully regard him as some high interpreter, as a sort of sovereign Pontiff in art, as one whose slightest words may make or mar the price of any picture about to be sold—an expert who is a sort of connecting link between high art and unguarded pockets, the owners of which, though they frequently come to scoff, as frequently remain to pay.

Neither the National, nor any other gallery, can be such "a never-ending, still-beginning" attraction as Christie and Manson's. As the travelled Australian has of course done the Vatican, and the Louvre, and Versailles, and Munich, and Dresden, and the Pitti and Uffizzi galleries of Florence, and scores of other and minor collections, he will consider that it almost smacks of audacity to compare Christie and Manson's with any of these. But it must be borne in mind that the difference between an ordinary gallery and Christie and Manson's is the difference between monotony and infinity—between stagnation and motion, between a pond and a river. An ordinary picture gallery, even a fine national collection, is for long seasons together a fixed quantity. Through Christie and Manson's, on the other hand, flow, in a single season, a perpetual stream of old masters and of new; of works which lovers of art would go a pilgrimage to see, down to works you would not care to see at all. What can or shall I say of this Christie and Manson's, which will not appear to be extravagant? To call their rooms a Temple of Art, is not a title large enough. The place is too variegated, gladdening, saddening, thought-awakening, to be contented with so narrow a description.

That it savours of a temple is true; and one may regard the Ruskins, the Millais, the Ansdells, the Peter Grahams, the Birket Fosters, *et id genus*, dropping in from time to time, as so many priests; whilst Mr. Woods, in his peculiar function, ministers at the altar as a sort of superior Acolyte, indispensable to the establishment. At times, too, Mr. Woods bears a strong family likeness to the first grave digger in Hamlet. "Hath the knave no feeling of his business," that with that hammer of his he "jowls" the skull of a Rembrandt, or of a Sir Joshua, with as much phlegm and indifference as he will deal with a daub of yesterday? These rooms, if there be any truth in Spiritualism, must surely be the uncomfortable haunt of anxious ghosts of scores of departed painters, if they take any interest at all in the works they have left behind them, or in the changed fortunes they are undergoing. Even in the flesh, what faces may be sometimes seen, as the cold-blooded Woods knocks down for an insulting sum, a work, the real cost of which, in many days of labour, sustained only by hope, is known to the painter alone! There is a touch of tragedy and heartache in this, even for the beholder, who probably would often like to accompany the afflicted one to his lodgings, if assured that it would not be resented as an impertinent intrusion on his concealed sorrow. That remorselessly premature, "Have you all done?" must have struck a deadly chill into many an ambitious and sanguine heart, a chill as hard to bear up against as that sharp misery annually suffered by scores of anxious spirits, who work hard for months—only to find themselves at last amongst the excluded from the Academy for *that year*, at least.

To behold "Christie and Manson's" in its glory, you must be there on the occasion of some great sale in the height of the season, say on a fine sunny day in June. The better observance of the Saturday afternoon as a half holiday, is now universal; so all picture sales of any consequence take place on that day. Some rare collection has been on view for a week or ten days past in the rooms. Artists, dealers, connoisseurs, rich and poor, have been pouring in day after day, and all day long, for catalogues and a view. Day after day the rooms have been crowded with the rank, fashion and culture, not merely of England, but of such other portions of the world as at this period are pretty sure to be in London. King-street is crowded with carriages, from the ducal chariot to the humble hansom. The silks of fair countesses rustle up the steps. The dealers are in their glory; they dart from group to group of beholders—many of whom are habitual victims, or devotees, or worshippers, whichever you like to

call them; they expatiate on this work, are rapturous over that; this picture is not to be estimated in money; that cannot leave the country without the country being disgraced; and the great Mr. Agnew is so busy that he seems to be almost ubiquitous amongst this choice company. Is he as knowing in art as the artless think him? What matter whether he be so or not? For certain, his life is passed among artists and pictures; and he must therefore—other things being equal—know more about them than those who have not such advantages. Note book in hand, he takes down commissions. His principal booked, he posts after other prey. Isaac Walton never landed his fish more deftly than Mr. Agnew hooks his amateur, be he British peer or Manchester millionaire. You have the benefit of his judgment for a consideration, and he has the general reputation of being a very honourable man. His purchases are enormous; sometimes twenty or thirty thousand pounds' worth of pictures in a day, and his commissions proportionate. His income, it is reported, averages some twenty thousand a year; and he is at Christie and Manson's what a Rothschild or a Baring may be in the city. The great picture mart would not seem itself without Mr. William Agnew.

This mart is specially constructed for the business to be transacted in it. In the show rooms, as in the sale room, the light from the roof is abundant. The wall space is sufficient to receive hundreds of works without any of them being so far skyward as to be put beyond appreciation, or to inflict on you a stiff neck. Hence abundant opportunities are afforded to the public to examine, as carefully as they like, every picture, days before it comes to the hammer.

In due course, Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods having announced in *The Times* that they have received instructions from the executors of "that late eminent collector," Mr. Blank, to submit his celebrated collection of oil and water colour paintings to public competition, the day arrives when they are to come before this partly critical and partly very confiding market. The catalogue affords you the names of the artists, or supposed artists. Not a few of the works are old friends of Mr. Woods, and have been knocked down by him over and over again. Of course he is always glad to see them, although he seldom ostentatiously recognises them in public.

As the clock strikes one, Mr. Woods removes from his little office to the rostrum with the gravity of a young Ritualist genuflecting

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amidst his wax-chandlery and his incense. On his brow, "deliberation sits, and public care." Many works of genius are to come under his function; and ranged before him on long forms are some two hundred or so of dealers and artists and amateurs, male and female, very many of whom claim to know as much about pictures as Mr. Woods, some of them perhaps rather more. But Mr. Woods *looks* infallible, which goes a great way towards being so in the public estimation, and although he says very little, what he does say is delivered with the unfaltering absoluteness of a man passing sentence. It is a risky thing for any man to try to put a manifestly impudent pretender upon him, as a Gainsborough, or a Müller; he says with a hard-hearted and hard-visaged dryness, that "it is a copy." The disconcerted owner remonstrates, and is ready with the picture's pedigree. Mr. Woods is unimpressed by pedigrees; "the claim of paternity is ridiculous, and the picture is not at all in his manner." The *ex cathedra* judgment is received with loud applause, and the crushed owner collapses for good. We cannot however be blind to the fact that the crusher only crushes with the carefully weighed policy necessary to sustain the reputation of the firm. For beyond doubt he, with an easy conscience, introduces to the public every season innumerable manufactures, playfully called "old masters," and with a grave and unsmiling toleration even for very dubious reputations, he seldom (if unprovoked), plainly speaks what he thinks of them. At the same time, if he rarely cries "stinking fish," he still more rarely guarantees anything produced a generation back. *Caveat emptor* is a valuable maxim here, as everywhere else in the merchandising world. If copies have no other merit, they will yield a commission, if they will sell at all. And what will not sell in London? An enthusiastic Australian remarked to a friend some twelve months back, "that if you were to bring a bag of snakes to London, you would find an immediate purchaser." And he was right. What need be unsaleable in London, when Thames mud is said to be purchased for conversion into tallow candles (not into fresh butter, as once reported, see *Sanatory Record*); and fragments of castaway orange peel will re-appear to us, in the dress of best Dundee marmalade?

The visitors at Christie and Manson's are at the least as interesting as the works which attract them. The great bulk of these visitors—always excepting the minor members of the trade—belong of course to the wealthier classes of society; some of them genuine lovers of Art; some of them merely affecting Art, because it is "the thing."

What a flutter of expectation is caused when some fine Turner, or Gainsborough, or Sir Joshua, or Copley Fielding, is hoisted to view on the exhibiting frame. A cheer bursts forth, when some dashing dealer starts with a bid of a thousand guineas, for pounds are not acknowledged here. I, a season or two back, witnessed the knocking down of "Turner's Grand Canal at Venice;" the one of which the engraving is commonly met with. The rooms were crowded by a congregation who could hardly have shown more interest in the Eastern Question. At the dividing point between the inner room in which the sales are conducted, and the outer room where you can hear neither bidders nor auctioneer, stood on a chair an attendant to report to the outer-room people the course of the bids. I was one of the latter, as I had arrived late. Solemnly, the man on the chair would repeat for our benefit, "three thousand, the last bid; three thousand and fifty; three thousand one hundred; four thousand; five thousand;" and so on, until at last down goes the hammer to the shout of "seven thousand guineas," amidst loud cheering and general hammering of the floor with umbrellas and walking sticks. "Who's the purchaser?" demands one. "Mr. William Agnew," replies another. And this is the last lot of the day. We wait to see the precious purchase brought forth. It is reverently borne along in a sort of triumphal procession by Christie and Manson's brawny men, towards a special van, waiting for it at the door. A buzz goes through the crowd that it has been bought for the Earl of D——. I follow a number who are escorting the precious canvas to its carriage. I hear a conversation between two broad-backed, bucolic looking country gentlemen. "I'd sooner have the seven thousand, says one." "Yes," says the other, "he pays about a pound a day for looking at that picture." "If he looks at it at all," observes a third. It is a striking little practical and suggestive conversation, and we cannot but turn it over in our minds as we wander homewards.

For amidst all this wonderful mixture of humanity, from the great picture-buying nobleman with his income of thousands a week, to the poor dealer who drives a little trade in "pot-boilers," for very life, it is certain that there is a numerous class, who really care very little, if anything, for pictures. And yet many of the unsympathetic wealthy buy pictures, and at long prices; some, as furniture; some, by way of impressing you with their purses, if not with their taste; some, because to affect a taste is to bring them to some extent within the charmed circle of intellectual society; some, even because of the excitement of the thing as having a smack of specula-

tion, seeing that the picture which was painted for fifty pounds off the artist's easel half a dozen years ago, fetched a thousand pounds yesterday. Hence the general susceptibility to particular artists' names. Dealers will tell you that for "The David Cox," knocked down before your eyes for twelve or thirteen hundred guineas, the artist in his lifetime, and before he awoke to fame, only got forty guineas. I am rash enough to tell my informant that there is in the colony of Victoria one M. Buvelot, a French artist, some of whose works in the Melbourne Gallery are certainly superior in merit to many of David Cox's, and as certainly would not command much more than a tithe of the same prices. Of course my statement is accepted with that polite silence which is so expressive of blank incredulity. I am piqued into going a little further into first principles. I desire to know, "whether there was ever a time when David Cox was an unknown name in the Art world." "Certainly." "Was he the same David Cox before he achieved fame as after it?" "Of course." Here, then, one may assume the offensive on the dealer. We assert that although as the man David, he was the same, yet in his artistic character all the probabilities favour the conclusion that he was a turner-out of better pictures before he became famous, than after it. Before Mr. Ruskin and the critics took him up, he worked for a name and fame, and had plenty of time to do so. After he had achieved fame, he not only had not the same spur to exertion, but he was exposed to temptations that few artists can resist. When commissions pour in, "pot-boiling" becomes more or less inevitable. In this money-making world, it must be so. If art is long, life is short. The most industrious artist has only a limited quantity of work in him. He has, most likely, a wife and family like other people. Tradesmen's bills flow in upon him, as upon others. He must make hay while the sun shines. Quantity is turned out at the expense of quality. His name will now sell anything; and if there be one truth more conspicuous than another in the Art world, it is that the common ruck of what are called the patrons of Art buy names rather than pictures. And so, instead of the judicious public discouraging the scamping of artistic work, they rather enthusiastically promote it. *Qui vult decipi decipiat*. Can the artist be blamed for taking the hundreds you so eagerly press on him, for his hastily daubed canvas? He knows (what you will very reluctantly admit), that with next to no eyes for the actual merits or demerits of his work, you are really and consciously buying the two magic words, David Cox, in the corner of his picture, and

therefore he covers as many canvases as he can, and David Coxes you to the top of your bent. I have seen David Coxes that I could never look at too often; and I have seen David Coxes that, half made up and scamped as they were, appealed to the faith of the ignorant, rather than to the judgment of those who had eyes wherewith to look on Nature's own unsophisticated face. As the precise opposite of your name-buyer, look at Ruskin. I have known him stand absorbed before one picture for twenty minutes together, apparently almost unconscious of the flock of spectators around him, who, like as many butterflies fluttering over a flower bed, light for a passing second on everything, and settle upon nothing. And yet even these can, in their passive way, assist in making a reputation. I saw Miss Thompson's clever but certainly over-rated "Roll Call" on the private view-day at the Academy, being the first day on which it was exhibited. The butterflies flitted past it in hundreds, seeing nothing more in it than in scores of its neighbours; and at first it fetched only £100. The Prince of Wales afterwards praises it at the Academy dinner, and for many days afterwards you could not get near the picture, for the fashionable crowds that were collected around it. Thus, in this curious and amusing world, can royalty radiate reputations on deserving and undeserving alike, and the highly intelligent people who know this smile at the Persians for worshipping the sun.

To return to Christie and Manson's. These rooms are devoted to great sales only in the season, from spring to autumn. Eager is the competition amongst vendors to get their art property sold here, whether pictures, china, or Marlborough gems; for the initiated tell you that such is the prestige of this mart that everything will here fetch at least five-and-twenty or thirty per cent. more than anywhere else. "People believe," as you are sometimes told, "that no rubbish is admitted into this very respectable and exclusive place." They are innocents indeed who believe this. The refuse of the late Mr. Wynn Ellis's collection—that is, the portion rejected, even as gifts, by the trustees of the National Gallery—was sold in these rooms in the season before last, and among these were many copies which had been palmed upon poor Mr. Ellis in his enthusiastic purchasing days as originals, cheap at the thousands he had paid for them. And not a season passes, without portions of the successive continental cargoes, "neat as imported," of "Old Masters," being sent to them as to other rooms, for the patronage of the Wynn Ellis type of victims, who are the special stay and support of the dealers. By scores of imaginative

and weak-minded amateurs, any respectable-looking old canvas, venerable, and almost invisible in its dirt and smoke—the dirt and smoke frequently being the finest piece of art about it—is snapped up in the faith and hope that it is the veritable old master that it calls itself, and that it may prove a little fortune to its possessor; and be assured you will be anything but an agreeable adviser* if you undertake the impossible and detested task of undeceiving him.

Touching copies, the reader will not have forgotten the recent sensational event in London; the mysterious and the as yet unexplained theft of the portrait of the beautiful "Duchess of Devonshire." This, as will be remembered, was bought by Mr. Agnew at Christie and Manson's for ten thousand guineas; the largest sum, as Mr. Woods stated, that had ever been given for a picture in that room. So surprised were people at the price thus paid for a work originally painted, as was said, for something about £60, that many supposed it was bought on commission for a member of the Cavendish family. But they were soon undeceived. Mr. Agnew at once proceeded to exhibit it for a shilling a head, and arrangements having been entered into for engraving it, as many subscribers were soon obtained as would have gone far to pay for the picture itself. All at once, and in the midst of the excitement the picture and its sale had produced, it was announced one fine morning that the "Duchess" was stolen, having been cut out of the frame and carried off from the room in which it was being exhibited in Bond-street. The reports which immediately sprang up at once afforded evidence of the amount of trick and roguery incidental to picture dealing. "The picture had not been stolen at all." "It was a cunning ruse of Agnew's." "It would be soon recovered again, and then the shillings would pour in faster than ever." Then, when the picture was not forthcoming, suspicion took a new turn. Agnew had, according to the prophets, discovered it was a copy, and had destroyed it, preferring to lose his ten thousand guineas rather than incur the loss of prestige which might, and most probably would accrue to him in consequence of his fallibility in such a case." "If the picture were a genuine Gainsborough, why should the Devonshire family

* Richardson, in his essays on painting, gives us the following amusing anecdote:—"Some years since, a very honest gentleman came to me, and amongst other discourse, with abundance of civility, invited me to his house. "I have," says he, "a picture by Rubens, it is a rare good one. There is little H——, t'other day came to see it, and says it is a copy, confound him. If any one says that picture is a copy, I'll break his head! Pray, Mr. Richardson, will you do me the favour to come, and give me your real opinion of it?"

have allowed it to pass into the hands of a dealer?" and so on. Probably very few who knew anything of Mr. Agnew really suspected him to be capable of such a trick; but that it should even have been suggested by any dealer afforded an indication of what was thought possible in the trade. If a trick, Mr. Agnew was paying dearly for carrying it out; for one of his own people has stated that besides other measures for discovering the thief, two smart detectives had been started for America alone, it being thought possible that if carried out of the country it was more likely to go to the United States than anywhere else. These suspicions show also an admission that dealers, in common with the less experienced, are to be deceived as to the genuineness of a picture. Of course it is with pictures, as with handwriting. There are personal peculiarities in the one, as in the other; but both are imitable, so as to deceive the best experts, as common experience testifies. A great painter's pupil, especially if a sincere admirer of his master, is apt, insensibly, to fall into his manner, and the instances are well known to be numerous in which the work of the pupil has been mistaken for that of the master. And not merely so. The celebrated portrait of "Beatrice Cenci," in the Barberini Palace in Rome, has been copied and is still being daily copied with such remarkable fidelity that Prince Barberini imposes a condition that every copy made with his sanction shall be either a little larger or a little smaller than the original, as a security against the latter being stolen, and a copy left in its place. In addition to this, the Barberini seal, as the custodian of the Prince's gallery informed me, must be placed on every copy, to distinguish it from the host of copies of copies, which are commonly manufactured in all parts of the world.

The length to which, beyond my intention or anticipation, this paper has gone—for which I must apologise to the reader—leaves me space only very shortly to observe on the liabilities to which the painter's art, in common with so many other human pursuits, is exposed, from the ravages of time as well as from the caprices of fashion and changing taste. The visitor at Christie and Manson's must soon discover this. At present, and for many years past, it is certain, that English artists and the English school have been in the ascendant, and their works command much higher prices than do those of foreign artists of equal merit. And yet the English school had hardly an existence before the time of Sir Joshua; and Winckelmann wrote as if foggy England could never hope to have a school at all. But "schools" will perhaps grow up almost anywhere,

under the fostering influences of wealth and luxury, and a leisured and cultivated class. Things began to look better for English art from the time that Sir Joshua became the first President of the Royal Academy, founded under the patronage of George III. But for generations before that time, notwithstanding such names as Dobson and Hogarth, and Jervis, and Hudson (Sir Joshua's own master), foreign painters had the lion's share of fashionable patronage in their own hands. Who but Vandyck could be deemed competent to adequately limn in all their melancholy beauty the features of him, who, as Marvel finely said, "bowed his comely head" at the block? In those days, English artists were patronised by foreigners, but now foreign artists must be content with the crumbs that fall from the English table. What a change since the days of Hogarth! It is amusing now to read how impatiently our countryman writhed, and how clumsily he protested against the dominion of the foreigner on British soil. Because he only got a hundred and sixty pounds for his series of six pictures in "The marriage à la mode"—now in the National Gallery—whilst a poor "Sigismunda," by Furini (attributed at the time to Correggio), had been knocked down at a sale for the then high price of £400, Hogarth must needs do a Sigismunda of his own—his devoted wife being the sitter—and on this also he put the price of £400. Such a sarcasm, however, rather misses fire, when, as in this case, the unabashed public left it on his hands, with the utmost indifference. Finally, he left the picture to his wife, charging her not to sell it for less than £500, an injunction which the British public allowed her to keep, and which she did faithfully keep during a twenty years' widowhood, although she was often nearly in want of bread. Thus, Narcissus-like, have artists, in all ages, fallen, and will for ever fall in love with themselves, as transfused into their works, although the greatest pictures that ever were, or ever can be painted, must, with time, become merely memories and traditions. "These things of beauty," are not "joys for ever," as we have too good reason to know. The magnificent pictures bequeathed to the nation by our greatest landscape painter, and so specially and exclusively provided for in "the Turner Room" of our National Gallery, are already mere wrecks, and all of them are more or less rapidly rushing to ruin, and must soon become little better than big unintelligible blotches of confused colour. The colouring of the great Italian masters is evidently amongst the lost arts, as Reynolds painfully knew and acknowledged. The "Venus" of Titian, in the Florentine Gallery, more than three hundred years old, yet shines out upon us from the glowing canvas

as if she left the artist's easel only a season or two ago. But although the too short-lived triumphs of our own gifted countryman's genius have, with so different a fate, almost in the morning-time of their existence, become lost to our sight, we are not altogether without consolation. In the subtle thought, the delicate fancies, and the exquisite word-painting of Turner's eloquent and enthusiastic critic, supplemented by engravings, future generations, it is true, will have to take the great artist very much on trust; but such as he comes down to them, so he will remain, unfading and indestructible as the English language itself.

ARCHIBALD MICHIE.

THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE.

It is now very generally conceded that man has gradually acquired his present physical development by the successive accumulation of small differences through countless generations. If this is so, the remote ancestors of man must have been animals very unlike him, and must be supposed to have lacked the use of language; that is to say, at some period in the process of development the gradually-progressing animal must have acquired the use of speech which before he had not. This circumstance gives a new interest to the old question of the origin of language.

Indeed even before the suggestion of the development theory, it appeared to many minds unsatisfactory to regard language as an ultimate fact. For the use of language is clearly not an instinct or an hereditary habit; each individual learns it for himself, as is shown by the fact that children acquire the language not of their parents but of the people among whom they are brought up. If the use of language could be considered as an instinct, the question of its origin would be resolved into the more general question of the origin of instincts; as it cannot, some other origin must be sought for it, such as may be assigned to the other habits of man.

We see at the present day habits very much akin to the use of language spring up, such for instance as the use of codes of signals. These habits have their origin by legislative enactment binding on, or mutual agreement between, the parties using them. But there is a remark which will apply to all of them, that is to say, that they are either substitutes for or improvements on spoken language, by the use of which their adoption has been brought about. Any theory therefore, that supposes language to originate in any such manner as codes of signals originate, would appear to fail on two grounds. In the first place, the origination of a code of signals is preceded by a design on the part of someone to originate it. That design arises in this way: someone is struck by the advantage of communicating with other people as he would do by means of language under some circumstances which render the use of spoken language impossible; he therefore sets about to devise a substitute. An acquaintance with the advantages derived from using language is therefore a necessary antecedent to the formation of the design. Now anyone not acquainted with any language could not frame the design of

forming one, and therefore such a design cannot have been among the antecedents to the original formation of language; in other words, language must have originated without design. In the second place, even if the formation of the design be granted, the origination of the habit of using such a system of symbols as a code of signals requires previous concert among the people who commence to use it; such concert is always in fact produced by the use of language, and it is difficult to see how it could take place otherwise. We see therefore that notwithstanding the arbitrary and conventional form of language, and notwithstanding that its use is clearly not instinctive, it must have grown up in some manner undesignedly and without previous concert among the people using it.

At first sight it appears very difficult to conceive how so complicated an instrument as speech can have originated in so haphazard a manner. This difficulty, however, has been very much obviated by recent researches in philology, which show that all languages, however complicated their structure, have insensibly grown out of others of the simple isolating form of which the Chinese is the sole surviving example; that is to say, were at one time without inflection or distinction of parts of speech, but consisted solely of monosyllables, each of which had a distinct meaning of its own, as nouns substantive usually have in our modern English. This discovery of the philologists reduces the question of the origin of language into a question of the origin of names.

Before going into the question of the origin of language, it may be as well to consider how names originate to-day. They originate sometimes designedly, sometimes undesignedly. Names that originate from design are for the most part scientific names; they are generally taken from names that were in use in the Latin and Greek languages. And it is obvious that the manner of their origination throws little light upon the question of the ultimate origin of language. When names originate undesignedly, they for the most part originate from other names, sometimes from a name of one thing being applied to something else, with which it becomes connected; as in the case of the verb to *macadamize*, the substantives, *macintosh*, *blanket*, *tramway*, for *outramway*, and so forth. At other times, from names of a smaller group of objects being extended to a larger group, as when the name *cherry*, from the name of a fruit, becomes the name of a color. Writers upon derivation have however made the public so familiar with the changes that take place in the meanings of words; how names are derived from others of

apparently the most opposite meaning and unlike sound ; how, for instance, our familiar word treacle comes from a Greek word *ther*, signifying a wild beast, and so forth, that it is needless to dwell upon the matter. The only other way in which names appear to originate is by onomatopœia, or the imitation of natural sounds. A few names of animals are about the only names that originate in that way to-day ; such for instance as the name "morepork," which is either altogether an imitation of the cry of the bird, or as some people say a corruption of the name mopehawk, so as to make it imitate the cry.

It follows from this cursory glance at the manner in which names originate, that if one could only account for the origin of a language connecting a few names even of a limited class of objects, there would be no further difficulty in the case. Once get a language, however circumscribed, and the processes we see going on to-day would suffice to enrich and extend it to any extent. It appears also that the only apparent cause by which new names originate is onomatopœia.

To return then to the question, How could a race of animals whose ancestors had no language to teach them ever acquire the use of any ? Preparatory to answering this question, it may be as well to point out in what the use of a language consists. Language depends upon the law of association, by virtue of which if any number of things have been witnessed by any person as occurring together, if anything like any of such things or the imagination of it, afterwards be brought before the mind of such person, the imagination of things, like the others, of such things, tends to occur ; and this tendency increases with every recurrence of a like group until the suggestion by one member of the imagination of the others, may be relied on with great certainty. When any group has been repeated often enough for any member to suggest the imagination of the others with considerable certainty, such group is said to be associated together. Now in saying that any society has the use of a language, the following things are implied :—(1). There must be associated in the minds of the members of the society various things with sounds capable of being made by the voices of the members of the society. (2). The custom must exist among the members of the society of making such sounds for the purpose of influencing one another. Now, as has been pointed out, before the origin of language the meanings of words could not have been agreed upon as people now agree upon a code of signals, or even proposed by one member of a society for the approval of

his fellows, as is done with new words to-day. In order then that the origin of language might be possible, the first condition is that things with which a society of animals on the point of developing into men might be supposed to be concerned should occur in groups, one member of which is a sound capable of being imitated by the voice, so that in the minds of the members of the supposed society things with which they are concerned would be found associated with sounds ready to their mouths, if only they would open their mouths to utter them. Now, is this so? The first question is, with what things might it be supposed would wild men or animals passing into man be chiefly concerned? Savages are for the most part hunters, and the things with which they are principally concerned are wild beasts, some of which they seek to take for food, and by others of which they seek to avoid being taken. Now every wild beast has a peculiar cry which breaks in a very noticeable manner the stillness of the wilderness; by every denizen in that wilderness, all these cries are well known and associated with the beasts which make them. The members of the supposed society also would, it may be supposed, like other animals utter cries varying in different states of emotion, which cries would be known to their fellows, and would become associated with the emotions in which they were uttered by each member of the society, uttering them himself in the like. Again, the things with which we are most concerned are things in a state of motion or change, and most things in a state of motion produce sounds, which sounds are peculiar to the particular events by which they are produced. Such sounds are the thunder, the forest shaken by the wind, the surf beating upon the beach, the crackling of the fire, the blow of the axe on the tree; sounds such as these cannot be imitated by the human voice as well as can the former groups; still they may be imitated more or less. We see then that the things with which savages or animals developing into men would have to do occur associated with sounds; so that if only we can suppose the habit of imitating such sounds to spring up among any society of animals for the purpose of influencing their fellows, there will be no further obstacle to the formation of a language. How then could such a habit grow up? Certainly not from any predetermined purpose, for no member of such a society could foresee the advantages of a language, having no experience of them. There is, however, no difficulty in supposing

the habit to spring up without any such purpose; for instance, some member of the society has noticed an animal in some position; he wants to see his fellows arrange themselves, say for its capture; he gesticulates and wriggles about as a dog does who wants to excite attention. The animal he wishes to take is vividly present to him. The thought of the animal suggests the thought of its voice, he imitates that voice without expecting any particular consequences, his fellows forthwith arrange themselves as he wants; he thereby acquires experience of the power to be attained by imitating sounds. He will do so more readily on other occasions, and with each occasion the habit will strengthen; after a time other members of the society will learn the habit, which will in time extend to the whole society. We should thus get among a society of animals developing into men a formed habit of imitating sounds associated with various things for the purpose of influencing their fellows. To do this would be to have the use of a language in its most elementary form; but it could hardly be properly called a language until the sounds made had become arbitrary, that is to say, had ceased to be imitated from natural sounds, and in lieu thereof were imitated from the sounds in use in the society for the like purpose. The language thus formed would be a language of the isolating form, according to the classification of Professor Max Müller in his Essay on the Stratification of Languages. How out of such a language may be developed the most complex language on the earth, has been demonstrated by the Professor in that admirable essay. This theory of the origin of language is a variety of the onomatopœan or bow-wow, and of the interjectionary or pooh-pooh theories, though it differs from those theories as commonly put forward in being based directly and avowedly on the law of association. Professor Max Müller has given a reason for rejecting those theories which I now propose to examine. He says that all words in all existing Aryan languages can be traced to certain original roots, and that those roots when examined do not appear to have any resemblance to any natural sounds whatever. Now, that this objection may be tenable, one of two propositions must be maintained. Either that language in the earliest form in which we now have it, that is as contained in the earliest written records which have happened to be preserved, is language in its original and earliest form, or else that language in the course of successive generations cannot so alter as that words should become utterly unlike the words from which they are ultimately

derived. Neither of these propositions can be maintained. There is no reason whatever for thinking that the earliest written records we happen to possess are contemporaneous with the origin of language. It is certain that words will change so that, unless the intermediate links can be found, no connection whatever will appear between the primitive and derivative. Such has taken place in historical times, when the derivation can be proved by the intermediate links. How much more rapidly language changes among savages when there are no written records to steady it, Professor Max Müller has himself pointed out.

THE INCIDENCE OF TAXATION AND EXPENDITURE OF PUBLIC MONEY.

THE subject of taxation, in its general effect and bearing on the interest of individual members of the community, and in regard to its relative justice or injustice to each, is beginning to be more discussed than it used to be, but is little understood as yet. Few persons will take the trouble to wade through column after column of figures, re-arranging and classing them under suggestive headings; and the public accounts are kept in such a jumbled state of confusion as to afford little information to searchers therein, unless they are blessed with patience and perseverance enough to carry them through this irksome task. Since the system of indirect taxation was first introduced, the aim of all Governments has been, apparently, to mislead and keep those who pay from a knowledge of how much they pay and what they pay it for. The general revenue is a convenient term, and everything must go into that, to be divided again among the different departments, some of which, as for instance the Chief Secretary's and Treasurer's here, have a curious medley of interests to deal with. The disentangling of the financial skein is a tedious process, and to a rightly constituted mind eminently unsatisfactory, so needless is the confusion, except with a view to mislead. Having in some degree surmounted the primary difficulty in seeking to know exactly from whose pockets the money comes and for whose benefit it is expended, I propose to take the reading portion of the taxpayers into my confidence, and with this purpose in view, to divide roughly and in round numbers the estimates of revenue and expenditure for the current year, each into three parts, showing, in the first place, the three sources from which the general revenue is derived, and, secondly, the three outlets or objects of expenditure. Some such division is needed to arrive at any just or reliable conclusion, and minute sub-division would only cause confusion in studying our public accounts from a new stand-point and on a new principle. We have also but estimates to deal with, and where there are thousands and millions in question odd hundreds of pounds are of little consequence.

In pursuance of this plan, the three sources of revenue are taken to be Customs and Excise, Land, and Public Works. The

two branches of the first division yield £1,805,650; from the land is derived a sum of £949,850; and from what have been included under the head of public works, £1,630,216; making in all £4,385,716, the estimated revenue for the year. The first two headings explain themselves, but into the public works division are thrown many items of a miscellaneous character, such as fines and fees, interest on public account, as well as the receipts from the Post-office and Telegraph departments. The amount under the head of Customs is made up principally of somewhat over half a million from the duty on spirits, £64,500 from wine and beer, £109,000 from tobacco and cigars, £175,990 from tea, coffee, and sugar, £100,400 from malt, hops, rice, dried fruit, &c., and £574,160 from *ad valorem* and miscellaneous duties. Before the *ad valorem* duties were imposed there was no attempt to tax articles of luxury as such, indeed the tendency was all the other way, the most valuable imports being called upon to pay a far lower rate of duty in proportion than those of least value. Thus the duty, per gallon, was and is still the same on the cheapest rum or gin and the highest priced French brandy or liqueurs; the same per lb. on the coarsest tea, sugar, tobacco and cigars, and on the finest and best sorts, of course adding far more in proportion to the selling prices of the cheap than of the dear articles. Formerly, the Customs revenue was raised almost entirely from a few leading articles of general consumption, for which all men paid alike, whether rich or poor, so long as they were able to feed and clothe themselves and their families sufficiently, an injustice that will become more apparent as we proceed. It will be seen that even now the *ad valorem* and miscellaneous duties only contribute a little over half a million, and of this, perhaps, less than a fifth is paid on account of luxuries, the remainder being made up from clothing, boots and shoes, grain, machinery and materials required in different trades and occupations. Of the total sum named under this head, the excise and inland revenue duties amount to £166,600, and of this £120,000 are for duties on the estates of deceased persons and on bank notes—the first and very insufficient attempt to put a direct tax on property in consideration of the many advantages it receives under what is called good government.

From the £949,850 derived from land, £690,050 should be deducted, as this is the amount received, unfortunately, from sales by auction and as payments towards the purchase of the fee simple, the remainder being £259,800, the total annual receipt for the use of

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the public property; £155,000 being contributed by the squatters as rent for runs. No more than these annual payments of a little over a quarter of a million should go into the general revenue, towards current expenditure; but the whole is so disposed of without difference or distinction.

As before mentioned, the heading of Public Works is made rather too comprehensive; but this is done to avoid further subdivision. Excepting £225,000 received from postage stamps, money orders, and telegraphic messages, the great bulk is received from public works; the railways, waterworks, graving dock, &c., returning over £1,200,000. The remainder is made up of fees from the different law courts, sales by the Government printer, sales of things manufactured at the prisons and industrial schools, and other items for which no better place could be found. These three divisions will tend much to simplification, and no great fault can be found with the arrangement so far.

We now come to the objects of expenditure, and about these there is not likely to be such unanimity. As with revenue, they are divided into three heads, Person, Property, and Public Works—the first meaning individuals, men, women and children, as such, and without reference to what they possess; the second goods and chattels, sheep, cattle and horses, the contents of the banks and merchants' warehouses, of jewellers' shops, and other property, as distinguished from its owners; and the third works of an enduring character, constructed and carried out with public money. About the last there can be no dispute, but many will object to a hard and fast line between the two first; nor will it be quickly decided where that line should be drawn. Before proceeding to show how the distinction has been arrived at, it will be only needful to say that, for the first, or the benefit of Person, £1,305,000 has been allotted; for the second, the protection of property, £605,000; and for the third, the sums set down in the estimates amount to no less than £2,474,000, making in all an expenditure of £4,384,000, as against the estimated revenue of £4,385,716.

In arriving at the distinction between Person and Property, every item of expenditure set down for what may be called the mixed departments was considered, and either taken as a whole or divided between the columns so headed. Thus for the Chief Secretary's department there is a total of £506,556 on the estimates, and of this £296,451 is allowed for expenditure on Person, and £210,105 on Property. To the first is debited the whole cost of parliaments,

medical officers, hospitals, industrial and reformatory schools, public libraries and museums, government botanist, &c.; and one-fourth of the cost of police and gaols. The amounts for these last were so divided because at least, if not much more than, three-fourths of the time of the police is occupied in protecting property rather than person; in guarding against theft rather than preventing assault and battery. We learned long ago at school that the traveller with empty pockets may whistle carelessly *coram latrone*; and if the statistics of crime were to be examined, the proportion charged against person would most probably prove to be too high, especially as all the law departments are divided in the same way, and the higher courts are engaged almost entirely in securing titles to property. The cost of the Department of the Minister of Public Instruction, £449,328, is charged entirely against Person, as is a large portion of that of the Treasurer. The total for this last department is £387,179, of which £233,859, including the £120,000 for charitable institutions, is charged against Person, and £153,319 against Property. The whole cost of the Departments of Lands and Mines is so charged also, as Person will be credited with the income from land; and the remainder is made up by the fourth part of the cost of the Law Departments, as with the Police. The amount against Property consists principally of the three-fourths of the cost of the Law Departments and Police, together with £57,405 from the Treasurer's Department; three-fourths of the cost of our Defences, Volunteers, Artillerymen, and Men of War. It is Property they are required to defend, not Person; for individuals without property could quickly escape beyond the reach of a hostile force, if any such were to land on our shores, and, besides, it is not the fashion now among civilized nations to illtreat men and women or make slaves of them. If Melbourne were to be bombarded or sacked, 'tis the property would be destroyed or carried away—not persons.

The amount to be expended on public works, £2,474,000, is made up of £303,286 for the Public Works Department, £560,100 for the Railway Department, £302,726 for the Post Office and Telegraph Department, together with £1,312,039 from the Special Appropriations. This last sum consists of £802,039 for interest on loans, £310,000 for the endowment of local bodies, and £200,000 for the railway loan liquidation and construction account. About the object of these there can be no question, and together they form a rather formidable item in our annual bill of particulars.

Having divided the bulk of receipts and expenditure under their

several headings, it becomes necessary to see on whom the payments devolve, or in other words to learn what is the incidence of taxation. In the first place, the population must be divided into contributors and non-contributors. If we take the number of people last year at 840,000, keeping up the proportions from the time of the last census, there would have been about 545,000 of these women and children, government officials of different sorts and classes, and domestic servants, therefore non-producers, leaving only about 295,000 engaged in business or productive employment. But many of these last are boys and girls, earning little; and as there are only 173,000 inhabited houses, stores, and tents in the colony, there cannot well be more than about a fourth of the whole population, or 200,000, who may be designated as taxpayers in full. Thus each man in work or business would have to pay for four on the average, and in calculating the amount of taxation per head this should never be forgotten. The amount collected as customs and excise, omitting the £120,000 duty on the estates of deceased persons and bank notes, gives just two pounds per head of the population; and how much of this should be deducted for what may be fairly called luxuries? The principal items among the *ad valorem* duties which can be properly so called are furniture, £7,574; silks, £22,000; gloves and haberdashery, £19,000; jewellery, £7,100; plate, £405; opium, £16,000, to which may be added the £37,500 for wines, and £14,000 for cigars, making only £123,579 in all: so that, with a liberal allowance for the best qualities of spirits, teas, &c., the amount probably would not be more than one-eighth of the whole, leaving thirty-five shillings per head for the bulk of the population. Thus each man, with an average share of responsibility, has to contribute about seven pounds to the general revenue in the shape of Customs duties, more or less, principally according to the quantity of spirits consumed, as so large a proportion of the Customs revenue is made up from these. Of course the Land revenue consists of payments from those who buy the land or use it, as the revenue from Public Works is made up of payments from those who use the railways, post, and telegraph offices, consume water, &c., &c., or, in short, are supposed to receive value for what they pay. Leaving these, then, out of the question, and considering what sort of establishment has to be supported, each head of a family can form a good estimate as to how much he contributes to the revenue.

Next comes the question as to how much each ought to pay. Adam Smith has laid it down as a maxim that—

"The subjects of every state ought to contribute to the support of the Government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities—that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State. In the observation or neglect of this maxim consists what is called the equality or inequality of taxation."

Again, J. S. Mill says—"Equality of taxation, as a maxim of politics, means equality of sacrifice." Venturing to differ from these great authorities, I would rather believe with those who think that each person should pay in proportion to the benefit he derives from the expenditure of the public revenue, more especially in a democratic country, where there is no such thing as government in the old sense of the word, but a management of our own affairs. The proportion of income is the principle that rules in England, notably in regard to the income tax, which last shows the injustice of it very palpably, for there can be no comparison between incomes derived from brainwork and trade, and those derived from realised or landed property without effort on the owner's part;—nor can equality of sacrifice be estimated, for it is much worse for the struggling partially-employed working man to part with a pound, than for the man with an assured income of large amount to part with a thousand. The first means the deprivation of himself or family of some much needed articles of food or clothing, these being already in a chronic state of insufficiency, while the last does not enforce the curtailment of a single want or luxury. Far more in consonance with reason and justice is it to say that a man should be taxed in proportion to the benefit he is to derive from the expenditure. But in old countries this would necessitate an inquiry into arrangements that would not bear exposure—national debts, for instance, of what benefit are they to the working man? Here, however, with manhood suffrage, and the management of our own affairs, which, besides, we have originated and built up for ourselves, though we have made serious mistakes, we can yet afford to look into them closely, national debt and all, and learn to understand them in all their bearings and aspects; and until the people at large take the trouble to do this, we can never hope to have the burden of taxation fairly and equably adjusted.

With the view of contributing to this end, and hoping that the maxim of "payments in proportion to benefits" will find favour here, I proceed to balance the accounts in the three divisions suggested, and thereby show more fully on what classes the incidence of taxation falls. We have then an expenditure for the benefit of

Person, or individuals, of £1,305,000, against the receipts from customs and land of £2,755,500, leaving a balance of £1,450,500 to the credit side of the account, or, in other words, showing that Person has been overtaxed by so much. The expenditure for the benefit of property is £605,000, and the receipts on account of, or from, property only amount to £120,000, leaving a deficiency of £485,000, or nearly half a million, which ought to have been raised by a direct tax on what is protected. In the Public Works division the expenditure is £2,474,000 against receipts amounting to £1,630,216, showing a deficiency of £845,784, or some £44,000 more than the interest of our national debt. These two deficiencies are, of course, made up from the surplus to the credit of Person, and this first balancing of the accounts shows clearly that Person pays £485,000 for the direct benefit of property, and £845,784 towards public works, and for whose interest or benefit is this last item of expenditure?

Of course politicians who are responsible for the present state of affairs will say that the expenditure on public works is for the benefit of all alike, without reference to class or station, to the present time or futurity; but a somewhat critical examination of the subject may place it in a different aspect. The bulk of the expenditure is on railways and roads, still a rather large proportion is on public buildings of an enduring character, and we probably spend a couple of hundred thousand a year on these, while we are only to have a temporary use of them. We have also expended far too much out of the annual revenue on roads, and we were doing so on school houses, until the magnitude of the outlay caused the common sense view to prevail, and money was borrowed for their construction. We found neither roads nor buildings in the country when we came to it, and why should we have not only to make and build them, but to pay for them too? A close investigation into this branch of the subject would show that, in this direction, we have expended several millions entirely for the benefit of posterity, without counting the money borrowed, which will, of course, be left as a debt for them to pay.

The consideration of the railway part of the subject brings us to the greatest injustice of all. We have expended fourteen millions of borrowed money in constructing railways, besides many sums in preliminary and other expenses, which have never been refunded to the current revenue, and would make up a large amount if brought together. This year the Minister of Railways has allotted to him

£560,000, and of this a large proportion is for additions to the permanent works, rather than for repairs and maintenance, and so it has been every year since the construction of railways commenced. Of course it will be argued that all classes gain alike by the construction and extension of railways, but it will not be hard to prove that one class gains more than all the others put together. Inhabitants of the towns gain by having food brought to them more cheaply and more abundantly, but the need for extra facilities to cause this abundance has been brought about by the action of the purchasers of large areas, in excluding farmers and keeping sheep on the lands around the towns, as we can see even around Melbourne. The first railways were constructed for the convenience of the diggers and merchants, to bring up gold and take down supplies more cheaply; and as the work done annually on the railways was ridiculously small in proportion to their cost, these have been a heavy burden on the general taxpayer ever since. The new lines have been constructed for the advantage of settlers, to enable them to send up wheat, and wool, and sheep more cheaply, and to get down their supplies readily and in small quantities at a time, as they want them. These facilities have doubled the value of land near the lines, yet the owners of this land have never been called upon to pay a sixpence towards the cost of construction, nor yet towards the annual amount required to cover surplus expenditure and interest. The public gained in some degree, no doubt, by the expenditure of the borrowed money, the profits and savings from which, when in circulation, helped to form capital for after manufactures; but this, together with the better supply of our markets, has been fully paid for by the contributions from the general revenue. It would take up too much space to go more fully into the effect of expending public money on railways in sparsely-populated districts, in relation to owners of land both in country and towns, but it may be fairly stated that, as we have managed these things here, the only unpaid for advantage, unpaid for by the classes interested, is the increase in the value of such lands consequent on their construction.

Thus the land-owners have derived full benefit from the fourteen millions, for which they pay no interest, nor are they in any way responsible for the principal. This fact offers a glaring instance of the injustice of the claim of holders of land in fee simple, whether in large or small quantity, to enjoy for themselves and transmit to their posterity what J. S. Mill only of late discovered

the importance of, namely, the unearned increment in rent and value. This has here grown up in a most remarkable manner, under our own eyes, and within comparatively a few years. At the end of 1875 there had been sold and selected close upon seventeen and a-half millions of acres, of which 239,207 acres were town land. The average price obtained, part to be yet received, was a little over 33s. per acre, or about £29,000,000 in all. The average value of the suburban and country lands is now at least four pounds an acre all round, which, for seventeen and a quarter millions, would be £69,000,000. Then, taking a mean of the various estimates of the value of town lands, they are worth at least £40,000,000 more, making the present value of sold and selected land amount to £109,000,000. From this must be taken the cost and the outlay on permanent or saleable improvements, or if we allow, say, £20,000,000 for these last, £49,000,000 to be deducted. This will leave some £60,000,000 as the unearned increment in the value of the lands alienated from the people. How, then, has this increase been brought about?

It is plain that land bears a value in proportion to the number of people to whom it is necessary for the supply of food. Montesquieu has well said that the greatest of all manufactures is the manufacture of a nation's food; and land is the indispensable agent in the production of this. Food the people must have; thus, as the demand for food increases, so does the demand for, and consequently the value of, land. Then, as the other manufactures of a country increase, supplying a source of wealth and income over and above what comes from the land itself, so does the ability to pay for either food or land increase still more in a proportionate degree; so that the value of land increases, not only with the number of people, but with the increase of capital in aid of manufacturing industry, and the more profitable employment caused thereby. Now, the landowners, as a rule, do not invest their savings as capital, but in the purchase of more land, so increasing their powers of monopoly, and of demanding an ever increasing portion of what they do not earn. It is, therefore, not only without their efforts, but actually in spite of these, that the increment in value arises and grows into what we have seen it become in a few years. The too common system of driving people off the land to make way for sheep even tends to this increase, for many of these people are driven into the towns, and not being able to live by buying and selling, they are forced to become manufacturers of some sort. Remaining on the land, they would have made that produce more, directly to their own benefit

and for the good of the country as a whole, but their being forced into the ranks of town producers of income and consumers of food, and thus helping to augment an artificial demand for what they have been deprived of, adds more quickly to the nominal value of land than their efforts in rendering it productive would have done. However, it is plain, from whatever point of view we take it, that the legitimate efforts of the land owners have done little or nothing to cause this increment of value. Is, then, the 33s. an acre a sufficient price to have paid, not only for what, with its natural grasses or otherwise, gave an immediate and large return for the outlay, but for an immunity from taxation, and the right to enjoy the whole of this rapidly growing increase of value? In these days of general enlightenment, ought we to tolerate institutions, supposed to be framed and worked out by ourselves, under which some few lucky ones can thus cheaply acquire immunity from public burdens and a right to live luxuriously on the labour of others, without effort or aid of their own, as well as the power to transmit these special privileges to their descendants?

Reverting to the figures again, they show us finally that Person pays annually, and in round numbers, £1,450,000 more than it derives any benefit from, in the shape of instruction, amusement, or attention to physical wants, and that property pays too little by £485,000, or that much less than the cost of protecting it; and that the deficiency in the Public Works account is £845,000, the great bulk of which, or £800,000, the interest on the national debt, ought at least to be paid by the land owners. Then we have seen that some £200,000 is expended on buildings for the benefit of posterity, making in all about the million and a half too much paid by the tax-paying manhood of the country, the 200,000, of whom three-fourths, or 150,000, are, together with their families, numbering in all 600,000, dependent on wages or very small salaries, and are therefore little able to pay more than should be justly demanded of them. These figures prove that each man with an average family, living moderately, pays from five to ten pounds more than he should, and for the direct benefit of classes far better able to pay for him than he is to pay for them. But this is invariably the result of indirect taxation, the only difficulty being to find out on whom the burden falls, the difficulty being further increased by the before-mentioned system of jumbling accounts confusedly through many of the different departments.

To persons not conversant with the subject, these figures will

appear rather startling; and doubtless those in favour of the present system will denounce them as unfair and one-sided, but the printed estimates are open to all, and the closest investigation will not alter the results materially. They show unmistakably that we form a wealthy community, able to bear severe taxation with comparative impunity, but they show also that our politicians of the past were greatly to blame for not having secured to the working members a more equitable distribution of the wealth produced by their general labours. At present the inequalities of the burden are very great; but how could they ever have inaugurated, or been satisfied with, the old system under which the bulk of the custom duties were raised from a few articles of general consumption, men with property and men without having thus to pay alike towards the expenditure of Government, this being almost entirely for the benefit of the former? Even with the changes made of late, the injustice is far from being removed, and probably a long time will elapse ere it is remedied entirely. Increased attention to the subject will doubtless have the effect of causing further alterations to be made in the right direction. However, the object of this inquiry is not to give rise to thoughts on what should be done at a future period, but rather to show what is, and we find two most important facts—first, that the working members of the community without property pay far more than they should towards the cost of government; and, secondly, that the unearned increment in the value of land has not been secured for the public—the two most potent causes of the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer, the *crux* to all philanthropic students of the dismal science. They are taught how wealth is to be increased, but not how it should be distributed so that all the human factors may be raised alike in the social scale; and a science so partial must needs be incomplete and to a certain extent unreliable. The effect of reducing its precepts to practice strictly is plainly to take from the poor the little they have, that the stores of the rich may be augmented. But let these same philanthropists imagine the effect of fairly adjusting the burden of taxation, of securing for the public the increment in the value of the land; and, lastly, the consequence of the former, of putting a stop for ever to the investment of money in purchasing the fee simple, and they will see means for working out this science to its just conclusion, in showing how the increase of wealth may be made to do most good to the greatest number. Instead of buying up, at an insufficient price, an ever increasing mortgage on the proceeds of the work of

future generations, as is done now when land is purchased, money, to become productive, would have to be converted into capital for the employment of labour, without the aid of which it could not yield interest. This change would at once put an end to the most permanently injurious of all monopolies, and go far to remove the existing tendency towards the accumulation of riches in a few hands. These speculations may seem foreign to the subject of taxation, but this cannot be considered or understood without reference to the land question, which is at the bottom of all. The increment in the value of land should have been saved for the public, and this would have yielded an ample revenue for all purposes of government. Thus would the most grievous of the public burdens have been removed; and what, in a country like this, would not have been the general prosperity, without taxes to pay, except for special or local objects, with the land held in moderate sized portions, and with ten times the present amount of capital available for the furtherance of industrial pursuits? All this was possible, had our legislators been wise. Ignorance of the principles of justice on which taxation should be founded, and of the use of public land, has, however left it but the "baseless fabric of a dream." Still, the large figures dealt with in relation to this subject, more especially the many millions of increment in the value of land, as compared with the number of people, and during the limited term of one generation, clearly show what might have been, as also what may be effected more or less rapidly during future years of progress, either here or elsewhere.

R. SAVAGE.

SHOULD NOT THE MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY BE REMOVED?

THE University having received a donation of £30,000 from Sir Samuel Wilson, for the purpose of erecting a hall, the University Council has under its consideration the plans for the construction of that building. It may be begun before the end of this year, and the question to be asked now will in that case be answered decisively and for once and all. Before, however, one stone of the hall has been laid, it may not seem too late to ask, "Is not the University in an unfortunate position as regards its situation, and would it not be desirable, were it only possible, to move the whole institution, 'bag and baggage,' to a more central situation?" I believe that the majority of those best acquainted with the working of the University would reply in the affirmative. It may not seem amiss at this juncture to inquire into the reasons for the desirability of changing the site of our present University.

Universities may with advantage follow one of two plans. They may be planted in some small and quiet town, where the University may overshadow everything, and where the University authorities may exercise supervision over the lives and morals as well as over the teaching of the students. Of such a type are Oxford and Cambridge, and some of the smaller German Universities. In England the result of what may be called the collegiate form of University has been to bring an admirable education within reach of the wealthier middle classes. Had it been the intention of the founders of this University to found another Oxford or Cambridge in the southern hemisphere, it would have been better, in my opinion, that Geelong, or some small town of its stamp, should have been chosen as the site. But such an institution is surely not what is necessary for us, at least as yet. We might indeed found a University, consisting of colleges, and spend thousands in beautifying it with a view to liken it to Oxford or Cambridge. But you cannot buy antiquity. In spite of the most radical reforms, in spite of the fact that modern languages and physical science are pushing their way into the curriculum of our home Universities, there is a grand sense of antiquity which haunts their precincts and which inspires a certain amount of veneration into the most bull-terrier-keeping freshman. In trying

to put this old wine into new bottles we should infallibly lose much of its bouquet.

The other class of Universities is what I may call the democratic or popular class, of which the London and the Scottish Universities may serve as types. The object of these is to hold the lamp of learning out to the body of the people, and to tempt them to profit thereby until they grow to cherish it and find it indispensable. These colleges should be thoroughly unsectarian; their fees should be very moderate; and above all, they should be situated in the most convenient spot, that is, in the part of the city in which the greatest number of persons can attend lectures with the greatest convenience to themselves. Now our University fulfils the first of these conditions, excepting in as far as the affiliation of Trinity College may be deemed an exception. But our fees are high compared with the standard in Scotland, and what I think must prove the greatest drawback to the ultimate success of our University is the amount of time which has to be spent by students and teachers in travelling to it and from it. Were we in a more central situation, say in that of the Law Courts, I believe that the number of students attending lectures would be doubled. I hear repeatedly from students that they would like to attend lectures, but their office work detains them. They could be spared for one or two hours, but not for four or five.

But, it may be said, when you have buildings admirably suited for a University, why this haste to make a change which will probably be for the worse? The answer to this is that our present buildings, whatever they may be suited for, are most certainly not suited for University purposes. Our class-rooms are ill-arranged, and ill-adapted for hearing lecturers. Our buildings do indeed breathe somewhat of the spirit of antiquity, but of an antiquity which threatens their speedy collapse. They are temporarily propped up by wooden piers, placed there, I think, rather in the hope than in the belief that they may stave off for some years the evil day. There is no privacy even in the quadrangle of the University; and I have spent, I think I may say, hours in persuading different representatives of the three great families of human speech, the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Turanian, that other portions of the colony were more adapted to satisfy their curiosity than the curious old buildings they were inspecting.

I have passed over what seems a small and unimportant reason for removing our site, but it is one which nevertheless should carry a certain weight. It is a most important factor in University

education that students should associate with each other outside the class-room, and learn to acquire that *esprit de corps* which is so highly valued in old countries. To this end they should be in a position to carry on their sports in some spot not too far removed from their studies. With us, however, I sincerely grieve to say, all the endeavours which have been made to bring students together out of the class-room have been failures. The Athletic Club is a failure. The Debating Club generally shows signs of vitality in the beginning of the term, but generally perishes before long from inanition. The University Club has been wound up. The reason of this series of failures is to be sought in the fact that the students are wearied by the long expedition which most of them have to make to their studies and know that they will have to repeat it in the afternoon. Naturally then, they do not care to spend their time in going out of the way to a club, or in wearying themselves still more by cricket or football in a place far from their homes.

What then seems to be the remedy for the drawbacks which I have pointed out as incidental to the present site of the University? I should say that the authorities should make it their business to ascertain, firstly, whether there may not be available sites to be obtained elsewhere in a more central situation. The site of the old law courts would be admirably adapted to our wants. Suppose this could not be obtained, would not Jolimont, or the Eastern Hill, or the precincts of the National Gallery be available? It should be well understood that what we want first of all is a series of good class-rooms in a central situation. If more can be achieved, such as cloistered quadrangles, council-chambers, and so on, well and good. But if not, let it be well understood that the main business of an University is to teach and to examine, and further, to teach and examine as many students as possible. I wish to guard myself in my use of the word popular, when I advocate this change as such; I merely mean to use it in the sense of appealing to the whole people, rich or poor. I would not derogate in any way from the high standard which my predecessors and colleagues most wisely established and most bravely have maintained; but I would fain see the council use their utmost endeavours to get a much larger grant from the Government on condition of considerably reducing the fees and establishing fresh chairs.

An increased grant from the Government of, say, £11,000 a year would enable the University to effect three most important reforms. 1st, to reduce the fees payable by the professional students by about

one half. My limits do not permit me on the present occasion to enter into details on this subject; but I may state that I have ascertained that the fees payable by a student to take his degree in medicine in Scotland amount to less than half of the amount which he has to pay here. Surely it should be our most earnest endeavour to keep our own students under our own most distinguished medical men. I have no doubt that the medical faculty are perfectly right in insisting on a longer course of instruction for the medical profession than that deemed necessary in Scotland; but surely we must all agree that it is unwise to render this course at once longer and more expensive than that offered at the Universities of the old country?

The second reform which might be effected would be a higher remuneration to be paid to lecturers at the University. We have gentlemen of the very highest distinction in their respective professions paid at the rate of a head butler. What wonder then that we find constant changes in the staff of the teaching body on the one hand; on the other, that those who in spite of their scanty salary do stick to their posts and loyally perform their duties to their students can find but small time for original research and for the advancement of knowledge as such? The third reform which an increased grant would enable the University to accomplish would be the multiplication of lecturers and consequent specialisation of knowledge. It seems to be a pardonable idea in a new country that a Jack-of-all-trades is better than a master in one. Unfortunately, however, in our University several gentlemen justly deemed to be second to none in their own department are made responsible for the teaching of subjects quite alien to the main subject of their chair. Professor Seeley—no mean authority—says in his well-known article on "Liberal Education in Universities":—"In the German Universities the whole field of knowledge is elaborately divided, and assigned in lots to different lecturers. In a prospectus of Heidelberg University, I count about sixty, each lecturing on his own particular subject." These are three important points which should be remedied as far as possible; and another point also touched upon by the same gentleman should not be neglected in our institutions; viz., that the size of a lecturer's class should bear some proportion to its merits. "At Cambridge," writes Professor Seeley, "the best lecturer is no better attended than the worst, and not only his salary, but also his reputation, is hardly at all affected by the merit of his lectures." For Cambridge read Melbourne. "*Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur.*"

The teaching body is by a very absurd and injudicious regulation divorced from the University Council, so that it is somewhat difficult for the governing body to acquaint itself with the ideas of the teaching body. Perhaps, however, it would be a mistake to speak of two bodies as being divorced when they have never been united. They rather stand in the position of the male and female sponsor, who, having an equal interest in their god-child, should yet be forbidden to be united. This should be altered at once ; and steps should be taken for founding chairs for modern languages, mental and moral philosophy, rhetoric and logic, and history. Is it too late to appeal to the council to carefully investigate the whole matter before taking a step which will nail the University to its present position for ever ? Would not Sir Samuel Wilson be equally gratified if his generous donation were made more useful than it will be if spent in the erection of a hall on the present site of the University ?

HERBERT A. STRONG.

NOTE.—I have been carefully through the list of students who attended lectures during the year 1876, and I find that out of about 200 students attending lectures in that year, there were only fifty-two living in the immediate neighbourhood of the University, out of whom a fair proportion were lodgers. I speak of the suburbs of Brunswick, Carlton, Collingwood, Fitzroy, and Hotham. The loss of time in coming to lectures is felt most severely by the articled clerks and by the students attending the hospital.

SCIENCE GLEANINGS.

MOST of us are familiar with the modes of treating the apparently drowned or suffocated, as recommended by Drs. Marshall Hall and Sylvester. To accomplish in an all but perfect and reliable fashion what is accomplished in a somewhat uncertain and haphazard way by the above-named method, a French *savant*, M. Woilley, has invented an instrument which he terms the *spirophore*, and which he lately described to the French Academy. The *spirophore* ensures a complete filling of the lungs of the person to be treated, with fresh air, and the immediate emptying of them again, imitating in short a complete inspiration and expiration.

Into a cylinder of sheet iron closed at one end, and open at the other, the apparently drowned person is put, with only the head out at the upper and open end. A tightly-fitting diaphragm or cover round the neck closes the aperture. A thick tube connected with a powerful air-pump passes into the cylinder. The air-pump, by means of a lever, can be made to alternately exhaust and fill the cylinder with air. When the cylinder is exhausted, the atmospheric pressure is of course taken off the body, the ribs expand, and the air rushes into the lungs through the open mouth, causing a complete filling of the lungs with air. When the air is sent into the cylinder, the chest-walls are pressed in, and the lungs as a consequence emptied. This alternate filling and emptying of the lungs may be repeated from 15 to 18 times per minute, as in the living man. The scientific precision and certainty of this process may make the difference of life and death in very many cases. It is believed that many of the apparently drowned are not restored through want of ability on the part of those employing the usual mode to persevere for a sufficient length of time. But the uses to which the *spirophore* may be put are by no means confined to the restoration of the apparently drowned. It will be equally applicable to those practically suffocated by vitiated or insufficient air; to those who have succumbed to the use of chloroform, and to numerous poisons (possibly to snake poison itself). In the case of still-born infants, and in determining cases of doubtful death, this instrument will be invaluable.

An addition to the means of saving the lives of the shipwrecked has lately been contrived. It is none other than a very simple miniature of the apparatus well known on all emigrant ships for

converting salt into fresh water. The apparatus, christened by its inventors (Messrs. Sidgwick and Sons, Millwall), the *Aqua Vita*, consists of a small boiler, which is to be fed with salt water by means of a receiver and funnel. A condenser is connected with the boiler in such a way that it may be filled with the hand in case of accident to the feeding-pipes.

The source of heat is a paraffin lamp placed in a metal saucer-lid on the boiler. All that is required for a constant supply of fresh water is that the receiver should be fed with salt water, and the lamp be kept alight. It has been proposed that every boat of a passenger ship should be compelled to carry an *Aqua Vita*. Along with the machine, and attached to the side of the boat, there would be a flat tank of paraffin oil, a copper box of matches soldered so as to exclude damp, wicks, trimming scissors, and instructions in several languages for the using of the whole apparatus. The instructions are said to be so simple that any child may understand them and work the machine. From 20 to 24 quarts of water per day is the ordinary quantity obtainable by the *Aqua Vita*.

A company has been started in England to carry out rather a novel industry. To Mr. P. Lockwood, conductor of the Anglo-Swiss Milk Company, the idea occurred that as milk could be preserved in such small compass simply by the evaporation of its 80 per cent. of water, beer also with at least as high a percentage might be similarly heated. On experiment this has been found quite practicable. Beer so condensed, it is said, can be brought back to its original state by the addition of water, and that without any perceptible deterioration of its quality. If such be the case it is easy to perceive how largely the traffic in *Old English Ale* is likely to increase in these colonies, and the article reduced in price, since its present bulk adds to its cost so greatly. With a portable beer of such a kind, it would be possible to substitute even in times of war a ration of beer for the ration of rum to our soldiers and sailors. The present rum-ration with its 72 to 77 per cent. of alcohol is charged with making men drunkards; with a beer ration containing only some 6 per cent., this at least would be avoided.

The late fearful accident at Brooklyn Theatre has directed public attention to the risks attending fire or even the alarm of fire in theatres, and has called forth numerous suggestions for its prevention. It appears, however, that the ballet-girls and spectators who annually perish through theatre fires, perish not through lack of the knowledge of how fires are to be prevented, but through the want of putting

into practice the knowledge which has been in our possession for about 50 years. Mr. Dion Boucicault, the well-known playwright, lately exhibited before an audience how completely all stage dresses, scenery, &c., can be rendered fire-proof. A drop scene which had been merely washed with a solution of tungstate of soda, silicate of soda, and water, was brought into close contact with a jet of gas issuing from the nozzle of an ordinary garden-hose. The only result after half a minute's contact of the gas and the canvas was a hole with a charred radius of about 6 inches; there was no flame whatever. Wood steeped in this solution will not burn, but is charred simply. The expense of applying this solution to a set of stage-scenery of a large theatre would be from £20 to £40, but the reduction in the rate of insurance would be probably an equivalent. The use of glue as sizeing is also unnecessary if the solution is used.

A test which shall distinguish the blood of man from that of other mammals not far from his own size—such as the dog, sheep, and pig—has long been a desideratum with scientists. In the present state of our knowledge no absolutely reliable test is known. A chemical test—peroxide of hydrogen—discovered by Dr. Day, of Geelong, a few years ago, has found favour with some of the experts at home, but as yet would not be received in courts of law as evidence. To the microscope, whose aid has hitherto in this matter been in vain evoked, it appears we have after all to look. Dr. J. J. Woodward, of the Medical Department, United States Army, has invented a process by which he deems it possible to demonstrate the difference in size between the blood corpuscle of a man and, say, a sheep or dog. The nearness in size of the corpuscles is the difficulty. A glass-plate is ruled in 100ths, 1000ths, and 5000ths of an inch, upon which a film of the blood to be examined is placed. A photograph of this is taken, and the ruled lines appear with the image of the blood corpuscles. The measurements are made on the negative, under a magnifying glass, by means of a transparent scale ruled in 100ths of an inch, on a thin film of horn. This enlarged-photograph process is said to be easy and accurate beyond those obtained by any form of eye-piece micrometer.

The art of hair-restoring, i.e., hair-dying, is not without attendant risks, it appears. For analyses of 21 of the best known dyes in London, made at the instance of the *Lancet*, revealed the fact that 14 of these 21 were practically identical in their composition, the principal ingredients being lead and sulphur. The sulphur is harmless enough, but the lead, which is always present in large

quantity, may induce lead-poisoning. The advertisements of one dye, which was itself composed of lead and sulphur, in true quack fashion warned purchasers against dyes containing poisonous ingredients.

At the Brussels Exhibition for the Saving of Life some specimens of the models used for illustrating hygiene in the Russian medical schools were exhibited by the Russian Government. The composition of the human body is shown by a series of jars, which contain separately the approximate quantity of the substances that go to make up the human frame. First, a large glass barrel, holding about 50 kilogrammes of water, is shown, and this forms 72 per cent. of the total ingredients. In smaller vessels are the gelatine, albumen, fat, the phosphate and carbonate of lime, and divers salts, which help to form the mortal part of man. The pupils having learned of what they are made, are told how to maintain the natural balance. They are taught of what various foods consist. Then, in a glass tube, there is exhibited so much of water, albumen, cellulose, sugar, starch, &c., and the outside is marked "cabbage" or "cucumber." There are jars of black bullocks' blood, to be shaken up with air, in order to show how oxygen reddens and revives the blood in the lungs. There are also jars with limewater and a breathing tube, so that the pupil can breathe in and see the water curdle at the action of the carbonic acid. Another breathing-apparatus experiment shows that the carbonic acid is fatal to the flame of a taper, as it would be to human life. Another lesson proves to the student that noxious gases are not kept out by brick walls. The exhibitor breathes into one side of a box, which is divided into two by a strong brick wall. The other side of a box is tapped by a tube which ends just above the flame of a candle. When the exhibitor has poured carbonic acid from his breath into one side of the box, it passes through the bricks, and coming through the tube, falls down (being heavier than the air) upon the candle and extinguishes it.

Dr. Messer, the surgeon of the *Pearl* at the time of the death of Commodore Goodenough from the wounds of poisoned arrows, has presented to the Admiralty a report on arrow-poisoning, which has attracted through its novelty the attention of scientific men. His theory is that the so-called poisoned arrows of the Melanesians are not in reality poisoned, but induce tetanus, or lockjaw, just as some ordinary wounds, no one can tell exactly wherefore, induce it. But lockjaw, he says, may be a mere *malade imaginaire*, brought on by the pure effect of imagination alone; and just as a man, bitten

by a dog not really mad, but supposed by him to be so, straightway through the force of imagination induces in himself all the symptoms of hydrophobia, so in the same way a man wounded with a supposed poisoned arrow induces the symptoms of tetanus. This theory, as regards the arrow wounds, is altogether too scientific—a refinement of science unwarranted by all the facts of this case. For Commodore Goodenough was neither a fatalist nor a coward, and though he did speak of the probable fatal issue and mode of death, he died calmly and as a brave man. Surgeon Messer thinks his view established by the assumed fact, that it is in *sanies*, or putrefying animal matter, that the arrows are dipped to poison them, and that such poison would produce pyæmia or blood-poisoning, and not tetanus. There is, however, no certainty in what solution the arrows are dipped. It is certain that the natives of the Philippine Islands—at no great distance from Santa Cruz—do poison their arrows in the juice of the upas-tree, and that the effect of a wound from these is tetanus. Until it can be conclusively shown that the arrows are dipped in a solution incapable of producing tetanus, there is no warrant for inventing a theory of tetanus by reflex action, or the effects of imagination.

A discovery of no small importance to microscopists and pathologists has just been communicated to the Tuckett Microscopical Club, by one of the much-contemned “medical women,” Frances Elizabeth Hoggan, M.D. It consists of a new process for staining animal tissues for microscopical examination. The staining of such tissues has hitherto required days for its accomplishment, but by the new process, and that with the simplest and most easily obtained materials, it may be accomplished in five minutes. The tissue or section to be stained is first hardened by being steeped in alcohol for one or two minutes, then a solution of tincturing steel (Tinct.: Ferri Perchlor: PB.) of the strength of one or two parts of alcohol is filtered upon it, allowed to remain for a minute or two, and then poured off. A solution of pyrogallie acid and alcohol (one or two parts of the acid to 100 of alcohol) is applied to the tissue in the same manner. The tissue is then washed, and may be mounted in the usual way with glycerine, balsam or varnish.

The doctrine of “spontaneous generation,” otherwise “abiogenesis,” involving the origin of living forms from non-living or merely chemical elements, which has been a *questio vexata* for the last quarter of a century, has at last been conclusively demonstrated to be false. The event itself will henceforth be historical, and a

landmark in biological science; and the method by which it has been disproved will be hardly less memorable. Some eminent biologists, led of late years chiefly by Dr. Charlton Bastian, have been conducting their experiments, the result of which went to show that in infusions of hay, meat, or other inorganic matter, living forms appeared after these infusions had been completely sterilised by heat and kept apart from air. To the great body of scientific men the bare idea of living forms from non-living elements was all but incredible, and the suspicion existed that in the infusion sterilised and excluded from the atmosphere, in which bacteria and other low organisms made their appearance, germs of life were somehow present though escaping detection. The suspicion was still further increased by Dr. Bastian's statements that after these bacteria had been developed, they in turn begat living beings totally unlike themselves, and having no tendency to revert to the parental type. The consistent holders of the law of "heterogenesis" were logically bound to admit that "a humming bird might be hatched from a snake-egg, or that a kangaroo might be born from a gorilla." This proved a great stumbling-block to the acceptance of the doctrine, as it was contrary to all analogy. Yet as many who held the doctrine of evolution, reasoned that if the lower organisms could thus be demonstrated to beget others more complex, of a different genus, and even of a different kingdom, why might not this take place in regard to the higher? Not a few adherents were found. The highest powers of the microscope, too, failed to disprove the existence of life germs in these infusions, and facts were facts. Such was the *status quo*, when Professor Tyndall stepped on the scene. In the course of experiments on the optical deportment of the atmosphere in reference to the phenomena of putrefaction and infection, he found that confined and undisturbed air, however heavily charged with motes, became at length by their deposition absolutely clear, so that the path of an electric beam across it was invisible. He then concluded that in this moteless air, sterilised infusions would never beget living forms—in short, that it was really undetected motes in Dr. Bastian's infusion that gave birth to the living organisms. On making many hundred experiments to test the behaviour of infusions in this moteless air, it was found that in none were bacteria developed, however long kept. In further explanation of Dr. Bastian's results, Professor Tyndall suggested that the degree of heat which Dr. Bastian employed to sterilise his infusions might indeed destroy living beings in the

adult state, but might not destroy the germs of life. This, too, has been demonstrated to be correct. Two enthusiastic biologists, Dr. Drysdale and the Rev. Mr. Dallinger, have in the light of Tyndall's experiments been able to give ample demonstration by the microscope of the truth of Tyndall's position. Their method and results cannot now be noticed, but full accounts of them may be seen in the April and October (1876) numbers of the *Popular Science Review*.

At Mount Elsie, near Bowen, Queensland, a discovery, according to the *Brisbane Courier*, has just been made, which may help to throw light on the ethnology of the Australian continent. A Mr. W. Miles has discovered near the surface of the ground a deposit of many tons of the primitive rough, chipped, and imperfectly formed stone-axes, commonly known as "celts" in Europe. Though well-polished tomahawks of stone have been found in various parts of Australia, these rough-hewn axes which preceded them, and which are identical in form with the "celts" usually found in caves in Europe, have not before been discovered here. The verdict of ethnologists on the bearing of this discovery will be expected with some interest. The bones of supposed extinct animals which were lately discovered in new caves in New South Wales, are at present under examination by Professor Liversidge of the Sydney University.

SIDEREUS.

THE LATE WALTER BAGEHOT.

THE Melbourne papers of the 28th March contain a London telegram, announcing the death of Mr. Walter Bagehot, the well-known editor of the *Economist*.

That gentleman undoubtedly held a foremost position as a financial authority, but it is not in that character that we now desire to speak of him. Mr. Bagehot has been for many years recognised as one of the acutest thinkers and brightest writers on social and philosophical subjects, and his contributions to the leading English magazines have attracted great attention among a limited, but highly intelligent class. He had the happy faculty of expressing his thoughts in such a manner as to render the driest and most technical subjects attractive. Thus his book on "Lombard Street," as well as being recognised by financial authorities as a thoroughly sound work, is really interesting to those who have no special knowledge of the subject. The same may be said of his treatise on the English Constitution, which originally appeared, like most of his recent writings, in the *Fortnightly Review*.

Perhaps his most interesting work is that entitled "Physics and Politics; or, Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of Natural Selection and Inheritance to Political Society," which is one of the International Scientific Series. Mr. Bagehot is here a disciple of Darwin and Spencer; and though he does not display the power of thought and felicity of illustration of these two eminent thinkers, still his work is so popular in style and original in treatment, that it is well calculated to disseminate advanced sociological views.

In the chapter on "The Age of Discussion," Mr. Bagehot makes the following characteristic remarks, which ardent reformers would do well to ponder on:—

"The enemies of this object [Government by Discussion]—the people who want to act quickly—see this very distinctly. They are for ever explaining that the present is an 'Age of Committees; that the Committees do nothing; that all evaporates in talk.' Their great enemy is Parliamentary Government; they call it after Mr. Carlyle, the 'national palaver;' they add up the hours that are consumed in it, and the speeches which are made in it, and they sigh for a time when England might again be ruled as it once was by a Cromwell—that is, when an eager absolute man might do exactly what other eager men wished, and do it immediately. All these invectives are perpetual and many sided; they come from philosophers, each of whom wants some new scheme tried; from

philanthropists, who want some evil abated ; from revolutionists, who want some old institution destroyed ; from new eraists, who want their new era started forthwith. And they all are distinct admissions that a polity of discussion is the greatest hindrance to the inherited mistake of human nature, to the desire to act promptly, which in a simple age is so excellent, but which in a later and complex time leads to so much evil."

In other words, a polity of discussion is a rude preventive of over-legislation, though this, as well as other evils, is only too rife under Parliamentary Government, as Mr. Bagehot elsewhere conclusively shows. In fact, in his most recent contribution to the *Fortnightly Review*, that on Lord Althorp and the first Reform Bill (which, by the way, formed the subject of a leading article in the *Argus* quite recently), he points out that certain evils resulting from that Reform Bill are but the natural consequence of the system by which complex questions are crudely and summarily dealt with by incompetent and unqualified legislators. Considering the complexity of any social problem, and how far the unforeseen consequences of any legislative enactment exceed in number and importance those that have been or can be foreseen, one is simply amazed at the readiness with which the first man one meets in the street is prepared to regulate the affairs of his fellows.

Apart from these speculative writings Mr. Bagehot has contributed, from time to time, some purely literary essays to the leading English periodicals. Several of these have been published under the awkward title of an "Estimate of certain Englishmen and Scotchmen." Each of these essays is well worthy of perusal, and that on Shakespeare is in our opinion as suggestive and as brilliantly written as the well-known chapter on the great dramatist in M. Taine's *History of English Literature*. When we consider Mr. Walter Bagehot's many great gifts and the rarity of writers of such exceptional ability, we can but deplore that he has died at the comparatively early age of fifty.

A. P. M.

CRITICAL NOTICE.

ON THE BENEFIT TO THE COLONIES OF BEING MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE: by John Dennistoun Wood.

WE have received from the Royal Colonial Institute a pamphlet with the above title, which was read before that body in November last, and which well deserves a careful and attentive perusal by readers in this colony. Mr. Wood is an ardent advocate of what has been called "the permanent unity of the Empire"; and he gives in small compass, with a thorough knowledge of the facts, and in our opinion with a clear and convincing logic, the reasons why it is desirable not only that the British Empire should be maintained intact, but that some steps should be taken to strengthen and render more enduring its present unity. We have not space here to enumerate all the reasons so forcibly given by Mr. Wood—and it is the less necessary for us to do so—inasmuch as the October number of this periodical contained an article on the same subject, and in much the same style of argument. We should like, however, to notice one or two points on which we venture to differ from the conclusions arrived at by the author of the pamphlet before us. Mr. Wood disposes in a very summary manner of the plan which has frequently been suggested for the representation of the colonies in the House of Commons. He says:—

"Whoever may have advocated such a plan, he was certainly not a Federalist. As the very essence of Federalism is that each local legislature, whether it be the legislature of the United Kingdom or of a colony, shall have the exclusive right of dealing with the local affairs of the community which it represents, a Federalist could not, with any consistency, propose that colonists should be sent from the Antipodes to take part in such purely local questions as occasionally occupy the attention of the British Parliament."

We shall not quarrel with Mr. Wood as to whether those who advocate colonial representation in the British Parliament ought to be called Federalists or not; but we would point out to him that their plan is perfectly consistent with each colony retaining its existing parliament, and there is no reason whatever why the colonists should trouble themselves about small local questions—"such as the removal of the flower-beds on the borders of the Serpentine, or the alteration of the road at Hyde Park Corner"—questions with which a British Parliament ought no more to have to deal than ought an Imperial Parliament. Mr. Wood is somewhat vague as to how the new Imperial Parliament which he is desirous of seeing established is to be elected, and expresses an opinion that the representatives "should be appointed and be removable by the Governments of Britain and the various colonies or confederated groups of colonies." We do not think that this power of removing the members of the Federal Assembly by the various governments would be conducive to the strength of such a body; whereas the election by all the colonies of their own representatives, and the British and Imperial Parliaments being one and the same body, would dispose of Mr. Wood's objection—that there might possibly

be one party in office in Great Britain and in the British Parliament—and a different party in a majority in the Imperial Parliament. What appears to us, however, the fatal objection to Mr. Wood's plan, and to all similar plans for the creation of an Imperial Parliament that is not based upon the existing Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, is that the latter body would never consent to the establishment of an Assembly that should be supreme over it; and unless such an Assembly is supreme over the whole Empire, its chief value as a means of binding together the various portions of the Empire is gone. We should like, therefore, to see writers like Mr. Wood, with whose motives we are so thoroughly in accord, lend their valuable aid in securing representation of the colonies in the British Parliament—even though such a plan may not be strictly in harmony with what are called Federal principles, as we feel sure that the results which they desire would be thereby completely attained, while we fear that otherwise they are spending their efforts in vain.

We have only space to notice one other point on which we cannot quite agree with Mr. Wood. He seems to think that the Federation question is not one of pressing importance. On the contrary, we believe it to be *the question of questions* for the immediate present, and that if it is not soon settled, the time will have gone by for settling it. We are living in an age when political events move faster than they have ever moved before—when no one can say what will happen on the morrow—what war may not soon break out which will affect beyond recall the fortunes of the British Empire. We think, therefore, that the time has come when all who desire to save from disruption the greatest Empire the world has ever seen should join together and sink all minor differences in order to achieve that great object.

We cordially welcome then Mr. Wood's attempt to arrive at a decision on this momentous question, and hope that his pamphlet will be as widely read throughout these colonies as it deserves to be.

A. M. T.

THE
MELBOURNE REVIEW.

No. 7.—JULY, 1877.

ON TAXATION IN VICTORIA.

THE gross revenue of Victoria for 1876 was £4,462,262. Of this, £1,129,685 was derived from Railways, Water Supply, and some minor Public Works; leaving £3,332,577 as the revenue proper, or that available for the ordinary purposes of government, and suitable for comparison with the revenues of other States. At a time when public attention is directed almost entirely to matters of finance and taxation, it can scarcely fail to be interesting and profitable to consider from what sources this revenue is derived, and whether or not the burden of taxation which it necessitates is equitably or unfairly distributed among the taxpayers at large.

To the first of these questions the answer is very simple. The revenue proper of 1876 was obtained from these four sources:—

Taxes	...	...	...	£1,761,878
Public Lands	...	...	...	1,111,983
Post Office	...	...	...	216,745
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	241,971
				<hr/>
				£3,332,577
				<hr/>

How much of the land revenue is derived from the actual alienation of the public estate the returns do not show; but this, although important in itself, is not material to the purpose in hand. The miscellaneous receipts consist chiefly of fees, fines, and interest on public monies.

The second branch of our enquiry is not so easily disposed of.

P



Let us see, first, what are the taxes which produce the revenue from that source, and how much they severally yield:—

Customs	£1,653,332
Excise (Spirits)	34,233
Tonnage	19,688
	<hr/>
	1,707,253
Probate Duty	34,048
Bank Note Tax	20,577
	<hr/>
	54,625
	<hr/>
	<u>£1,761,878</u>

Assuming, as it is not unreasonable to do, that the tonnage dues are really paid by the consumers of the goods carried in the vessels on which the dues are levied; and assuming, farther, that the tax on bank-notes falls on the proprietors of bank stock, the foregoing table shews us that our taxes can be summed up in two lines:—

Taxes on Consumption	£1,707,253
Taxes on Property	54,625

Is this an equitable distribution of the public burdens? To give an answer to this question it is necessary to determine on what principle taxation should be based. And here the agreement is wonderful. The famous canon of Adam Smith has been canvassed now for a century; criticism, chiefly verbal, has been directed to it; many attempts to improve upon it have been made; but no substantial variation of it has ever been accepted by economists, and it still remains as the embodiment of the only principle on which, consistently with justice, taxation can be based. That every man ought to contribute towards the cost of government in proportion to the revenue he enjoys under its protection, is a proposition as self-evident as it is sound. No protectionist ventures to deny its fairness; and not even a philosophical free-trader, in favour of protective duties and “bursting-up,” would dispute its truth. Mill in commenting upon and asserting this principle, says:—

“For what reason ought equality to be the rule in matters of taxation? For the reason that it ought to be so in all affairs of government. As a government ought to make no distinction of persons or classes in the strength of their claims on it, whatever sacrifices it requires from them should be made to bear as nearly as possible with the same pressure upon all; which, it must be observed, is the

mode by which least sacrifice is occasioned on the whole. If any one bears less than his fair share of the burthen, some other person must suffer more than his share, and the alleviation to the one is not, *ceteris paribus*, so great a good to him as the increased pressure upon the other is an evil. Equality of taxation, therefore, as a maxim of politics, means equality of sacrifice. It means apportioning the contribution of each person towards the expenses of government, so that he shall feel neither more nor less inconvenience from his share of the payment than every other person experiences from his.”*

It is true that this principle is a standard of perfection; but, as Mill remarks, although not to be completely realized, in every practical discussion it is desirable to know what perfection is. The circumstance that it is impossible to devise a perfectly just method of taxation cannot be a warrant for disregarding justice altogether. And yet a very little consideration of the subject must force any enquirer to the conclusion, that the taxation of this colony is as much at variance with justice as it is with common-sense.

Taxes on commodities necessarily raise their price. Such taxes, therefore, are paid by the consumers of the commodities on which they are levied; and are largely increased before the payment is actually made. On goods such as ironmongery, hardware and drapery, which are not sold to the retailer in the original packages, but which have to be sold in driblets by the importer, and which, probably, remain on the shelves of either importer or retailer, or both, for some time before they are disposed of, twenty-five per cent. is not an unusual nor an exorbitant rate of profit. The consumers' account, therefore, for an amount of £100 paid at the Custom House on such goods would stand thus:—

Duty paid at Custom House ...	...	£100
Importer's Profit ...	...	25
		<hr/>
		£125
Retailer's Profit ...	...	31 5
		<hr/>
		£156 5
		<hr/>

For every hundred pounds, therefore, which reaches the Treasury from this source, the taxpayers are charged fully half as much again. Now, keeping this in view, let us look at the duties by which this

* *Principles of Political Economy II.*, p. 366.

£1,707,253 of taxes on consumption is raised. We may put aside, for the present, the duties on spirituous liquors and tobacco, as being taxes on luxuries; and those on tea, sugar, coffee and cocoa, which, as these goods are chiefly dealt with in bond, do not entail so great an increase of price to the consumer.* We may also omit the wharfage rates, as they will shortly cease to be a tax, and will become—what they ought to have been from the first—a mere charge for wharfage and harbour accommodation. The first of these yielded in 1876, £734,565; the second, £191,150; and the last, £103,689; together, £1,029,404; so that our present concern is with, in round numbers, £677,000, levied upon other articles of consumption. But to see what the taxpayers actually pay, we must add the fifty per cent. already referred to, which the importers and dealers charge for advancing the duty and collecting it again from their customers, and we have a total of £1,016,000.

Upon whom does this heavy impost fall? A glance at the list of articles upon which it is levied supplies the answer :—

Clothing, furniture, hardware, crockery, carpets, blankets, and similar goods, for domestic use pay	£488,000
Machinery, metal goods, timber, &c., chiefly used in agriculture, manufactures, and building, pay	240,000
Grain, flour, dried fruits, and other articles, chiefly groceries, pay	288,000
	<hr/>
	£1,016,000
	<hr/>

This million of money, therefore, is taken from the consumers of the above goods, who constitute, in fact, the community at large. But

* The duty on tea and sugar is never paid by the importer, and only by the wholesale grocer when he requires the goods for immediate delivery to the retailer. The importer, therefore, has no outlay for duty upon which he can charge a profit, and the outlay of the middleman is for so short a period that it is not the practice of the trade to charge the retailer any profit on the duty. Thus, the consumer only pays one profit on such duties; and as the retail grocer only keeps a supply of tea and sugar sufficient for his immediate requirements, the actual increase of price caused by the duty seldom, if ever, exceeds by 10 per cent. the duty itself. The £191,000, therefore, which the Treasury receives from this source does not take from the taxpayer more than £210,000. To raise a similar amount by duties on drapery or hardware, the taxpayer would be charged fully £300,000.

in what proportions is it taken? Obviously, in proportion to consumption, and therefore without regard to the means of the consumer. Of two men earning similar wages, one with a family the other without, the first, if his wages be £2 per week, and his family consist of six persons himself inclusive, will pay probably £6 per annum, while his mate, without any domestic responsibilities, and with similar means, may get off for £2 or even less. According to the latest returns there are just about 200,000 ratepayers in the colony. Although all these are not householders, yet the deduction which should be made on that account can scarcely affect the result. Of these 200,000, 174,000 are occupants of properties rated at less than £50. It cannot, therefore, be very far from the truth to assume that 100,000* or about one-half of the entire householders in the colony are rated at less than £25 and are people who live by wages; their average wages probably not being more than £2 10s. per week. Yet as people in such circumstances are compelled to buy the goods they require in very small quantities, and a large part of them at country stores, it is pretty certain that fully one-half of this burthen of one million falls upon them. In other words, those custom duties which yield the Treasury £677,000 are raised by means of an income-tax which amounts to nearly 4 per cent. on the poorer half of the taxpayers. But so far we have only dealt with about one-third of the taxes on consumption. Apportioning the rest of the £1,707,000 between those householders below and those above the assessment of £25, it is difficult to avoid this conclusion:—that, on an average, the present customs and excise duties entail a charge equal to an income tax of fully 10 per cent. on 100,000 out of the 200,000 householders in the colony; while to the other and the wealthier half it does not probably average more than a fourth of that rate; the percentage being less and less as the income increases. So that these taxes, instead of being levied on each taxpayer in proportion to his means, are levied without any regard to his means; and, relatively, the poorest pay the most. As far then, as these taxes on consumption are concerned, our question as to the equity of such a distribution of the public burthens must be answered in the negative.

Nor can we give any other answer when the relative contributions of consumption and property are considered.

*Sir James M'Culloch stated, in the discussion on his property tax of 1871, that in 1868 the number of persons rated at less than £25 was 96,363.

£1,707,000 on consumption and £54,625 on property, is as startling a disproportion as there was between Falstaff's ha'porth of bread and his gallon of sack. A very large part of our annual expenditure is made directly in the interests of property. The £800,000 we pay yearly for interest on loans, the £200,000 for railway extension, the £310,000 to relieve property of its local obligations, make altogether £1,310,000 per annum spent almost entirely for the benefit and improvement of property. But as the first item is partly provided for by the revenue from the Railways, and the balance of it, as also the second, may be regarded as a charge against the Land Fund, they may be omitted in estimating the share of taxation which property should bear. A large part of the cost of the administration of justice and of the maintenance of police and gaols ought also to be charged to it. In 1875 while 1427 persons were convicted of crimes against the person, 2273 were found guilty of offences against property; and in their civil jurisdiction the courts are almost entirely occupied with disputes about either personal or real estate. In addition, property, as such, is deeply interested in, and ought to bear part of the cost of, the general government of the colony. But if we make out a balance-sheet, we have this result:—

PROPERTY IN ACCOUNT WITH GOVERNMENT.

DR.		CR.	
To Endowments of		By Probate Duty ...	£34,000
Local Bodies ...	£310,000	„ Bank Note do. ...	20,000
„ One-half cost of			
Justice, Police,			£54,000
and Gaols ...	216,000	„ Balance to Debit	708,000
„ One-half Defences	36,000		
„ Part Cost of			
General Govern-			
ment(exclusive of			
Education), say	200,000		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£762,000		£762,000
	<hr/>		<hr/>

The answer, then, to the question (are the public burthens fairly distributed?) must be in the negative.

1. Because so large a proportion consists of taxes on articles of general consumption, which are levied without regard to the means of the consumers, which press most heavily on the poorer classes,

and which exact from the taxpayers very much more than they bring to the Treasury.

2. Because a large part of the public expenditure is made in the interests of property, the owners of which do not contribute a tithe of their just proportion.

Thus far we have considered the subject in the light of justice and economy, and have dealt with it on the ground of principle. Let us now compare our system of taxation with those prevailing in some other States. In the United Kingdom the revenue from taxes was thus raised in the year 1875 :—

Customs and Excise (chiefly on Tea,

Coffee, and Railway Traffic	...	£5,602,322	per cent. 8·77
Spirituuous Liquors and Tobacco	...	41,001,079	„ 64·17
Sundry Stamps	... ..	2,997,765	„ 4·69

Property and Income, viz. :—

Legacies and Succes-

sions £3,400,375

Probates 2,153,797

Deeds 1,995,792

Income and Property 6,744,265

14,294,229 „ 22·37

Total Taxes £63,895,395 100·00

Let us compare with these the figures already given for Victoria, arranged in the same way :—

Customs (articles of general use)	...	£972,689	per cent. 55·21
Spirituuous Liquors and Tobacco	...	734,564	„ 41·69

Property—

Probate Duty £34,048

Bank Note Tax 20,577

54,625 „ 3·10

£1,761,878 100·00

Thus in Great Britain articles in general use pay 8½ per cent. of the whole taxation and property pays 27 per cent. Here the

proportion is reversed, for while articles in general use bear 55 per cent. of the public burthens, property brings only a trifle over 3 per cent. But this comparison is much too favourable to the Victorian system. In Great Britain nearly the whole cost of Police, Gaols, Lunatic Asylums, Workhouses, and Education, is borne by rates upon property. Here all these are undertaken by the Government; which, in addition, gives back to the property which only contributes to the Treasury £54,000 per annum, no less than £310,000 to relieve it from the greater part of the local rates to which otherwise it would be subject.

In the United States, with the exception of the Bank and Stamp Taxes, no taxes for federal purposes are now levied upon property; nevertheless, property in that country bears even a larger proportion of the public burthens than it does in Great Britain. It can scarcely be said, therefore, that there is any antagonism between the equitable and general taxation of property and democracy. Of the 310,000,000 of dollars, the amount of the federal expenditure for the year 1875-6, not one cent. was applied to local purposes, nor did it include any grant by way of subsidy to relieve property of its local obligations. The State, county, city, and town expenditure for the year 1870—the last for which a return is before us—was 280,590,000 dollars. With the growth of the Western States, the rise of new townships, and the steady extension of settlement which take place year by year, the State and local expenditure has, doubtless, largely increased since the year named; and it cannot be far wrong to assume that it is now nearly or quite as large as that of the federal Government. This expenditure includes the entire cost of militia, police, gaols and penal establishments, lunatic asylums, education, poor relief, and local works of every kind; and, with the single exception of the expenses of the Supreme Court at Washington, the entire cost of the administration of justice. All this is defrayed by direct taxes upon property. In Canada much the same condition of things is found. Property, as such, pays little or nothing to the Dominion Government; but it bears, by direct taxation, the entire cost of police,* education, roads, bridges, and ordinary local improvements; while it also pays nearly the whole cost of gaols, lunatic asylums, and poor relief, and a large part of the cost of the administration of justice. No recent

*A mounted police-force is maintained by the Dominion Government in Manitoba and the North West Territories; but this is for protection against the Indians, and its duties are of a semi-military character.

details of this expenditure are available, and on this account any further comparison with Canada is impossible.

With the United Kingdom and the United States, a comparison is most instructive, and for simplicity and clearness may be stated thus :

	United Kingdom £	United States \$	Victoria £
Whole taxation—			
general and local ...	93,895,000	619,000,000	2,101,000
Of which			
Property pays ...	41,000,000	313,000,000	394,000
Or per cent.	43	51·31	18·75

Property in Victoria, therefore, pays less than half the proportion which it pays in the United Kingdom, and a little more than a third of what is considered equitable in the United States. To distribute the burthen in Victoria as it is distributed in the United Kingdom, the general body of taxpayers should be relieved of half a million of duties on consumption; and property, instead of paying £394,000 in general and local taxation, should pay £900,000. If the standard of the United States were adopted the whole £677,000, before referred to as being now levied on consumption, might be abandoned, and the contribution of property for all purposes would exceed a million sterling per annum.

Those, however, who, by the vagaries of what is called public opinion, have been entrusted with the conduct of affairs in this colony, are not desirous that any such rational adjustment as that just indicated should be made. They do not care for Adam Smith or his famous canon. They are not concerned about justice or equality of sacrifice. They do not wish to relieve the poorer class of taxpayers of the ten per cent. income-tax they are now paying, nor do they desire that property should bear its fair share of the public burthens. They find that there is a wide-spread prejudice in favour of protective duties, and a crazy notion that things can be improved by what is called "bursting-up" the large estates. And to these prejudices they proceed to pander. To be sure, some sort of homage is to be paid to justice and common sense by a remission of some £200,000 of customs duties; but justice and common sense and common honesty are alike flouted, when it is proposed to supply the deficiency by an equal sum to be levied upon all landed estates above 640 acres in extent and £2500 in value. If we consider these two proposals in the light of the considerations already submitted, we

cannot pronounce a verdict favourable to either. The unpropertied taxpayer is, as we have shown, entitled to be relieved of between six and seven hundred thousand pounds which goes to the Treasury, and of between three and four hundred thousand which does not go to the Treasury, but is wasted by the method of collection. One million should be taken off the great body of consumers, and they are mocked with a proposal to relieve them of less than one-third of that amount. These same unpropertied classes, too, are to continue to pay as before a poll tax of fully ten shillings per head, in order that property in shires may be improved at the expense of others than the owners; and the great bulk of the property of the country is to escape taxation as before. All the holdings above 640 acres in extent, and above £2500 in value, do not comprise more than about a third of the landed property, and probably not a twentieth of the real estate of the colony; all the rest is still to go untaxed, and still to be improved by means of taxes on consumption levied chiefly on the unpropertied classes. A man with 5000 acres of poor land worth but two pounds per acre, is to pay a tax of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. upon the capital value, or £125 per annum, even though his land may return not more than half-a-crown per acre, and the tax may amount to 20 per cent. upon the income he derives from it. Another, with 640 acres of land, such as that near Warrnambool, worth £40 or £50 an acre—possessing, in fact, a property of from twenty to thirty thousand pounds, and an income from it of two thousand a year or more—is to pay no other taxes to the State than those paid by his labourers, and is also to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing local works for the improvement of his fine estate performed at the cost of the same labourers and other landless souls. This, we are told, is statesmanship. This is the policy of what, we are perpetually assured, is the “great Liberal party!”

It is true that the “great Liberal party” is not altogether agreed as to the second and most material of their schemes. Before the elections there appeared to be something like unanimity; but since, things have changed. The Camille Desmoulins of the party professes not to approve of anything savouring of breach of faith, much less of fraud. “In taxing land,” he said on one occasion, “he would hold to every compact the State has made.” So that the tax indicated by the head of the present Government, the object of which is not to force—no! but to “persuade,” landholders, by means of penal taxation, to part with some of their acres, can have no support from him. Under successive Land Acts passed by the

Victorian Legislature, the Government has been empowered to sell land at auction to the highest bidder. By virtue of this legislation the Crown has parted with the fee simple of lands thus sold, and has handed over to the purchasers the right to all the profits and emoluments which the possession of the fee simple implies. For the Crown now to go back upon its bargain, and, while still retaining the purchase money, to filch from the purchasers one-fourth, one-third, or one-half of the annual produce, would be no ordinary violation of a compact; it would be open, flagrant, downright fraud. To tax such lands in any way consistently with reason and justice, and to make their owners bear their share of the public burthens, is not only unobjectionable but commendable. To rob their owners of any part of that which they purchased and for which they have paid, would not only be a proceeding in which no honest men could assist, but would be one of those breaches of contract on the part of the Crown from which the Queen has, by her royal instructions, expressly directed her representative to withhold her assent.

Although great names have been cited as giving countenance and approval to this bursting-up scheme, scarcely an economist of note, however liberal or even radical his tendencies, can be found to sanction it. Many of the most eminent and most trusted have expressly condemned all devices of the kind. Sympathizing, as he does, with the feeling that the public welfare would be promoted by a wider distribution of property in land, Mr. Bright has expressly declared that all he and other agrarian reformers in England desire is the abolition of primogeniture and freetrade in land. Mr. Fawcett holds the same opinions. While regarding the aggregation of land in the hands of a small number of proprietors as a national misfortune, he says:—"I should be the last to advocate the compulsory division of land; I would not confiscate one single right of property." And his remedy is, in his own words, "That all artificial restrictions which limit the amount of land that is sold should be abolished, so that every one may have the greatest possible facility for acquiring land."* John Stuart Mill expressly denounced it. He not merely disapproved of singling out one section of landed proprietors to be treated as the wealthy Jews were in the middle ages; but of the more general and less iniquitous proposal to tax realized property alone, he spoke in these terms:—

"The objection to a graduated property-tax applies in an aggravated degree to the proposition of an exclusive tax on what is called 'realised property,'

* *The Economic Position of the British Labourer.*

that is, property not forming a part of any capital engaged in business, or rather in business under the superintendence of the owner : as land, the public funds, money lent on mortgage, and shares (I presume) in joint-stock companies. Except the proposal of applying a sponge to the national debt, no such palpable violation of common honesty has found sufficient support in this country during the present generation, to be regarded as within the domain of discussion. It has not the palliation of a graduated property-tax, that of laying the burthen on those best able to bear it ; for 'realized property' includes the far larger portion of the provision made for those who are unable to work, and consists, in great part, of extremely small fractions. . . . That such a proposition should find any favour, is a striking instance of the want of conscience in matters of taxation, resulting from the absence of any fixed principles in the public mind, and of any indication of a sense of justice on the subject in the general conduct of governments. Should the scheme ever enlist a large party in its favour, the fact would indicate a laxity of pecuniary integrity in national affairs, scarcely inferior to American repudiation."*

If the eminent economist denounced in these scathing terms the proposal to select for special taxation all realised property, in what terms would he have spoken of the scheme now before this country—to single out one small part of one class of realised property and let all the rest escape ?

Were the object of this article merely to destroy or to criticise, we might stop at this point. But as our desire is on the one hand to relieve industry and trade of impediments to their development, and on the other, to distribute the public burthens more fairly among the taxpayers, we may not unnaturally be expected to explain how such a change can be made, and how it would affect the several interests concerned. Since he who criticises the plans of others should be ready to submit to criticism in return, we are disposed to accept this view, and will readily afford our opponents their revenge. The £677,000 we have so frequently mentioned as being levied on articles in general use, should be remitted as speedily as possible. It would be necessary to consider in such remission the claims of any persons who have *bonâ fide* invested their money in undertakings on the faith of any of the duties to be remitted ; and possibly the remission of some of them would have to be spread over a number of years. But in any case they should be remitted ; since, for every person interested in their continuance, nearly a hundred would benefit by their abolition, and the interests of the great body of consumers ought to prevail. The gap thus created in the revenue should be

* *Principles of Political Economy II.*, pp. 372-3.

filled somewhat in this way:—The endowments to local bodies should be withdrawn; the expenditure would thus be relieved of nearly £300,000 per annum, for all it would then be called upon to pay for local works would be such a part of the cost of roads made through unoccupied Crown Lands as might be equitable. The several hospitals and benevolent asylums should be handed over to local bodies; hospital districts created; the municipal bodies within such districts be required to choose the hospital and asylum managers, and to provide³ out of the rates whatever would be necessary for the maintenance of these institutions. These two changes would relieve the Treasury of an annual charge of £400,000, and would at once increase the contribution of property to local, and, therefore, to general taxation by a similar amount. As an income tax, although, in our judgment, the most equitable of all taxes yet propounded, seems in the present condition of public feeling impracticable; those whose possessions consist of personal property might be made to pay, if not their full proportion, at least something approaching it by means of stamp duties. On all real estate a reasonable tax should be levied in such a way as to allow for repairs and insurance in the case of buildings, mere land paying upon its full worth. From these two latter sources fully £300,000 could be obtained, and the deficiency created by the remission of £677,000 of customs duties would be made good.

The advantages of such a change would be incalculable. The large amount of capital now employed in nothing else but the payment of customs duties, would be set free. Smaller capitalists could then compete in trades from which they are now excluded, and the practical monopoly which the present system gives the wealthier houses would be at an end. Although the Treasury would lose less than £700,000 by the remissions suggested, the taxpayers would be relieved to the extent of a million, and would have so much more to save or to spend as they might think fit. Industry and trade would advance, not slowly, but by leaps and bounds, and Victoria would soon be as far ahead of her neighbouring competitors as she was twelve years ago. By no class would the beneficial effects of the change be felt more than by those whose earnings are the smallest, for all history shows that the cheapening of commodities is always and everywhere in favour of the labourer; and in this case that benefit would be accompanied by a reduction of fifty or even seventy-five per cent. in the proportion of the taxation the wage-earning class would bear. That rankling sense of injustice which

is present in every thoughtful mind, when the unfair exactions and still more unfair exemptions of our present fiscal system are considered, would be removed. And last, but not least, the complete remission of local affairs to those most interested in their efficient and economical administration, would divest Parliament of that parish vestry character which it too often assumes; would relieve it of the reproach to which it is but too justly exposed, that local and not public interests frequently prevail; and would enable it to give undivided attention to matters of public and general concern, which local bodies cannot deal with at all, and which Parliament at present scarcely ever finds time to deal with efficiently.

EDWARD LANGTON.

AN HISTORICAL GLANCE AT THE LAND QUESTION.*

THE nineteenth century has contributed much and in many ways to the advancement of human knowledge. In the whole range of human thought it would be hard to point out a subject which has remained absolutely dead to the special influences of the time. But of all the triumphs of learning which lend glory to the days in which we live, a foremost place belongs to the application of the comparative method of study to languages and social institutions. Comparative philology, the science which investigates the correlation of languages, yields a body of evidence proving irresistibly the primeval kinship of man. Not only does it shed precious light upon much that was dark in the history of civilization during even the historic period; but it affords the one trustworthy guide to research in the ages anterior to written record.

The comparative study of the Indo-European group of languages, which is now an indispensable adjunct to the study of history, tends to efface the old distinctions of "dead" and "living" as applied to forms of speech, and to weld into a single great human brotherhood, into a grand historical unity, the related families of mankind which speak or spoke Greek, Latin, Sanscrit, Persian, Slavonic, Teutonic, and Celtic. These widely differing peoples derive their origin from a common source, the ancient tribe which dwelt upon the plains of Central Asia. That ancient tribe, the Aryans as they are usually called, placed midway in social development between barbarians and modern Europeans, spoke the simplest and crudest form of that tongue which has since grown into the Indo-European family of languages, and unquestionably displayed in their rude mode of life some of those higher qualities of mind which have set them at the head of the nations of the earth.

A second aid to a sounder knowledge of man's political existence in its primitive stages presents itself in the comparative study of the institutions of our race. That study reveals the truth that man being, in all ages of which anything is known, a constant quantity, to adopt the language of mathematics, the history of mankind—that

* On Property in Land, by Professor Pearson, *Melbourne Review*, April, 1877.

is of man-*kinned*—is quite independent of chronology; accordingly the distinction between ancient history and modern history grows faint and dim in the face of the organic unity which the whole subject thus assumes.

The family was the primitive cell, or organic unit of the Aryan community. The community consisted of a number of families descended from a single ancestor, or believing themselves so descended, knit together by a common religious worship commemorative of the ancestor, and occupying jointly a specific area of territory. This simple form of constitution accompanied them in all their wanderings. It formed the basis of the polity of Hellas and of Rome, as well as of the Teutonic and Celtic races. It exists to this day over part of Russia* and great part of India,† very little modified; over parts of Germany, of Switzerland, and of Scandinavia. Under specially favourable circumstances it has escaped the need for continually adapting itself to new conditions; and outliving many forms of society whose development had been too rapid to last, it has survived to our own day side by side with highly developed modern states. The phenomenon has its parallel in zoologic history where the marsupial, which in the old world is found only as a fossil, exists in Australia as a living creature.

The land occupied by the kin,‡ or clan, or fine, or gens, or phylon, as the blood-community was styled in England, Scotland, Ireland, Rome and Greece, was divided into three unequal portions. One portion, the township,§ contained the dwellings of all the families. They were fenced or hedged in and did not adjoin. Each habitation contained its family altar and formed the strict patrimony (heredium)|| of the family; for the community of ownership stopped short of the township Mark¶ or boundary, the little belt of "no man's land" separating the clan possessions.

The other divisions of the territory were into the common or waste land, and the arable or tillage area; the latter being as it

* See Wallace's Russia. † See Sir Hy. Maine's Village Communities.

‡ Or *cyn* as it was formerly spelt, whence *cyning*, king, the chosen of the kin.

§ *Tûn*, an enclosure or hedge. The old usage remains in parts of Scotland where a solitary farmstead is a *toun*. "Oon into his toun (farm), another to his marchandise. Wiclif, Matthew xxii., 5. Taylor's Words and Places, p. 127. The Statute 4 Henry VII., cap. 19, is "an act against pulling down of *tounes*."

|| See note on Manor, further on.

¶ Whence Market. See Maine, Village Communities, p. 193, for the connection with Mercury 'the god of boundaries, prince of ambassadors, and patron of trade, of cheating, and of thieves.'

seems at first taken from the common land and occasionally shifted. Each householder had his definite grazing rights upon the one and his proportionate allotment of the other; but the cultivation of the arable land though conducted on a common plan, was not carried on in common.

The regular undertaking of tillage marked a transition from a pastoral, and therefore nomadic condition, to a partially agricultural and therefore partially settled state of society. Naturally, this transition was accompanied by a change in the structure of the society itself. Tillage requires much labour, which the unaided resources of the kin were inadequate to supply fully; accordingly the settled cultivator, either free or servile, makes his appearance as an outsider not claiming blood-community with the originally homogeneous company of occupiers. In the subsequent evolution of classes, the tendency is plainly shown in the progressive societies for warlike service and its incidents to become more and more the special duty of the nobler race, the gens or kin proper; while the relations with the mere tillers of the soil, the cultivating class, take a variety of forms illustrated by the *Clientes* of ancient Rome, the *Laets** and the *Wealh* of the continental and insular Saxons, the Slav of Eastern Teutondom, the *Penestai* of Thessaly, and many others. Generally their condition was far above that of bondage, for slavery co-existed, but it was not a condition of equal freedom with the kin. Out of these relations grew up rights and duties other than those founded in kinship; the communal tie tended to become one of occupancy and occupation rather than of blood,† but the analogy of consanguinity was preserved in the changed organization. Thus grew up the idea of the neighbourhood, the cradle of nationality; and it is amongst this inferior and distinct class that in Western Europe the principle of private property in land becomes first discernible.‡

In England by progressive steps, each of which can be traced with tolerable clearness, but which the limits of this article do not admit of discussing, the evolution of the kingly office coincided with a gradual change from the personal headship of a number of kins or clans into the administratorship of the waste lands, the folkland, of

* Whence, doubtless, lease.

† This tendency is well shown in the history of English guilds, as well as in other forms of social fraternity that will at once occur to the reader. Mr. Wallace mentions that the change is now actually taking place in parts of Russia.

‡ Robertson's *Historical Essays*, p. xxv.

the aggregated kins. The term wasteland, however, must be used with the caution, that strictly speaking (as in India at this day) there was no waste in the sense of unappropriated land, for the occupancy rights of contiguous kindreds were just co-extensive with the royal jurisdiction. The transformation of the kingship from the relation of personal ascendancy to that of territorial lordship, is the leading feature in the constitutional history of the ninth and three succeeding centuries.

The system of land tenure which grew up during these centuries was the manorial. It still exists and bears upon its face marks of the double attribute, personal and territorial, of the royal office. The doubt, which remained unsolved for centuries, whether the king's grant of land was binding on his successor, shews the existence of the personal relation; and the true character of the grant, that of a loan, is seen in the expression *loen-land*, often used as the equivalent of benefice, as well as of the more familiar *bôcland*; the latter term pointing to the fact that a written record or charter had been preserved of the transaction. It may be added, too, that the home-grown German equivalent for manor (in French *fief*) is *Lehn*, or *loan*. From the notion of a personal loan by the king to his Thane, tenable during the donor's lifetime, there grew up the notion that the loan was in perpetuity.

The loan consisted in the grant of a body of rights over the soil, as well as over the inferior cultivators who were settled on the soil, in consideration of service to be rendered to the King. An artificial head was created to an artificial kin, the tie of customary service replacing the primitive tie of blood. The Manor* system, in fact,

*The word Manor is possibly a cognate of *manus* a hand, and may indicate the authority reposed in the lord, as well as the duty of protecting. If this be true, a wide-spread use of the word is illustrated. In Rome, persons *in manu* were those who were subject to superior authority—as a wife to her husband, a slave to his master, &c., metaphorical extensions of the paternal authority, or *patria potestas*, that remarkable and well-known example of the survival of archaic tribal usage in Rome. In Germany, *Mund*, identical in meaning, denoted guardianship. The King's subjects were under his *mund*, or hand, or protection; he was their *Mundborh*, or source of safety. It exists now in *mündel*, a ward; *mündig werden*, to become of age—i.e., to become one's own protector; *Vormund*, a guardian. In the Ancient Laws of Ireland (vol. iii., p. 330 n.) the word *Geil-fine* is explained as a family peculiarly organized. Mr. Whitley Stokes points out that the word *geil*, transformed by Grimm's Law, is *ohair*, a hand. The Greek word finds its cognate in the old Latin *hir*, hand (Donaldson's New Cratylus, 491), whence *herus*, a lord (German Herr), and probably *heres*, an heir, and *herodium*, that which passed to the heir, distinguished from that which passed to the gens—the root of the distinction in French tenures before the Revolution.

exhibited the old village community under a new phase of development.

The Norman conquest did not disturb the organization beyond introducing the feudal nomenclature, and replacing, in perhaps a majority of instances, the native English lords by Norman soldiers of fortune. The inferior population did not suffer by the advent of William to anything near the extent commonly supposed.* Indeed, there are solid reasons for holding that the true significance of the term conquest is not the popular one, that of subjugation by force of arms, but that which still survives in the terminology of Scottish law, where conqueror means purchaser, and conquest the acquiring otherwise than by descent. In this view the battle of Senlac or Hastings is a mere duel to determine the ownership of a disputed office.

Upon an English manor there dwelt three great classes of service-yielding free landholders. (1) The lord of the manor; (2) The freeholders of the manor; and (3) The customary tenants and cottagers of the manor.

There is nothing in the whole range of early history more certainly proved than that not one of these three classes owned absolutely the land occupied. Each and all were *rent-paying tenants*, contributing to their immediate superiors, either money or services, to the full yearly value of their holdings.

The lands of the manor were divisible into two parts, of which the first was the *terra dominica*, or demesne land of the lord. Under this were comprehended—

- (a.) The site and grounds of the manor house.
- (b.) The land occupied by the private tenants—a small and obscure class, whose history is not material to this inquiry.
- (c.) The unoccupied or waste land of the manor, to the occupancy, of which in common for grazing and other purposes the freeholders and customary tenants had certain rights conceded by long usage. This division is noticeable as giving rise to the question of commonage and enclosures about which I shall have something to say further on.

The second division of manorial land formed the *terra tenentium*, held by the freeholders (*libere tenentes*), by the customary tenants, and by some smaller classes which are not of moment. Of the

* Freeman's N. Conquest, Vol. IV., p. 14.

freeholders, omitting those who held by knight-service, there were two sorts, one paying a money rent, or commutation thereof, and styled tenants in free socage; the other, yielding service on the lord's estate or service and money, was the socman, divided by a thin line from the class below.

The holdings of the customary tenants, the villeins (*villani*), did not differ materially in size from those of the freeholding tenants. They were by far the most numerous of the occupiers; they owed the lord all kinds of dues and services upon his land, but they were freemen, not slaves. Chaucer's ploughman is a typical specimen of the class. From their tenures, and perhaps from those of the inferior sort of socmen, are derived the modern copyholds; and these classes form the mythical peasant proprietors whose departure from the soil of England brings such deep grief to those who have no faith in the fitness of Dame Nature to control her own economic laws.

It is plain from this classification of tenures, that, in the modern sense of proprietorship, there was not a single landed proprietor in all England, from the lord of the manor down to the meanest serf who chopped firewood in the courtyard. Very needless, therefore, are the regrets at the extinction of peasant proprietorship in the mother country. Peasant proprietorship never existed there.*

The Yeoman may be described as the old freeholder who had commuted his services for a money payment. Latimer thus describes his father ("Green's Short History," p. 320): "[My father was a yeoman and *had no land of his own*; only he had a farm of three or four pounds by the year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men." Again, in Harrison's "State of England in 1577," it is stated: "Our yeomen . . . are also for the most part farmers to gentlemen." Originally the yeomanry were doubtless the *gemeinred*, or freeholders under a communal organization, which had broken down in England by the 15th century.

Small groups of them may have survived in out of the way parts of the country, but they never formed an important class in the community. The well-known "statesmen" of Cumberland may be mentioned as a small and rapidly-disappearing race of

* See on the subject generally the writings of Seeborn, Sir Henry Maine, and Professors Stubbs and Nasse.

small landowners whose bucolic virtues won the praise of the poet Wordsworth. But if any one is curious to compare their farming skill or intelligence with that of the average tenant farmer in other districts, and will read the account of them in Laing's "Peasant Proprietorship," and in the first part of Mr. Greg's "Mistaken Aims," he will not think the nation loses by their impending disappearance. They probably form a surviving remnant of the ancient freehold tenure already alluded to.

To the question, What were the causes which led to the disappearance of the small occupiers from the soil of England? the answer is simple.

The manufacturing industry of the nation gradually passed from the domestic stage of hand-weaving, hand-knitting, &c., which for a long time were ordinary occupations of rural families, to the organized or factory stage, which entails an ever-increasing division of employment, and leads to the concentration of many persons on a small area. This development of national resources led to the voluntary abandonment by artisans of the less remunerative occupations incidental to tillage in the country, and their seeking instead the more remunerative occupations which the growth of manufactures and of national commerce offered them in the towns. From the fourteenth century onward, a continuous stream of migration from country to town, and varying in rapidity, has been observed. The change was to the good of both sides. Improvement in husbandry brought continual increase in the supplies of raw produce; while better appliances produced a constantly waning demand for labour to raise that produce. The farmer and wool-grower sought a maximum of yield at a minimum of cost. On the other hand, the augmented supplies of raw produce fostered manufacturing energy, thereby creating a demand for labour greater than had previously existed. In this way both classes of labourers, the small and constantly decreasing class which tills the soil and raises produce, and the large and constantly increasing class which manufactures and distributes that produce, have unconsciously aided the work of industrial integration, whereby the vast and delicately-organized British Empire has grown up.*

The progressive increase of towns, not including the metropolis, during the past two centuries is shown by the following table.

* On the early growth of English towns, see Freeman's *Norman Conquest* V., p. 465.

There has been a corresponding decline in the rural population, though of course not in the same ratio:—

Name of Town.				Population 30th June, 1875. Registrar-General's Returns.	Population 1885. Macaulay's History of England, ch. 3.
Liverpool	...	...	...	516,063	4,000
Manchester	...	...	...	492,346	6,000
Birmingham	...	...	...	366,325	4,000
Leeds	...	...	...	285,118	7,000
Sheffield	...	...	...	267,881	4,000
Bristol	...	...	...	196,186	29,000
Exeter	...	...	...	44,226	10,000
Brighton	...	...	...	111,089	2,000
Nottingham	...	...	...	92,251	8,000
Norwich	...	...	...	82,842	29,000
York	...	...	...	50,765	10,000
Worcester	...	...	...	38,116	8,000
Gloucester	...	...	...	31,844	4,500
Shrewsbury	...	...	...	23,406	7,000
Derby	...	...	...	61,381	4,000

An identically similar transition is now going on in Russia; and Mr. Wallace gives (Russia, Vol. I., p. 217) an interesting and valuable account of its present phase, and its apparent tendency to break up the "Mir," or Village community.

In proof of the incorrectness of that view, which would make national prosperity depend upon the number of its peasant farmers—in other words, upon the number of its food-producers—the following evidence is conclusive. It shows distinctly that with the progress of civilization the numerical proportion of agriculturists to the whole community of labourers *decreases* by rapid strides; in addition to which, the agricultural returns leave no room for doubt that the agricultural products of the soil have as steadily *increased*, and that they are now absolutely greater than at any former period in history.

At the Norman conquest, according to Mr. Buckle's estimate, 75 adult males out of every 100 in the community were engaged in producing food for the whole; that is to say, three persons out of every four grown up were engaged in agriculture. In 1770, according to Arthur Young's calculations, this proportion had fallen to thirty-three per cent., thus leaving two persons out of every three at liberty to undertake employment unconnected with the soil. In 1851, the census returns showed that the ratio had yet further declined to 26 in 100, or 1 agriculturist to 3 otherwise engaged;

while the results for 1871, as set out in the Registrar-General's Returns (Summary Tables), p. 35, make the agricultural class equal to 20 per cent. of the adult males, or 1 in 5 of the workers of the community. This wonderful result, connecting a progressive increase in the returns from the soil with a progressive decrease in the expenditure of labour, is due chiefly to the innovation of scientific theory upon traditional practice; and the strongest incentive to the innovation has been the growing certainty that capital can be employed to advantage in agricultural enterprise. The figures quoted refute, in the strongest possible terms, the statement put forward by Professor Pearson, that "English scientific farming has not produced any such great results since large farms became common."

During the past generation a reflex movement has come into notice. The surplus capital gathered from commerce is finding its way back to the country for employment in stimulating and improving the already high development attained by agricultural skill; thus affording another illustration of the beneficence and harmony which mark the working of natural laws.

I think it has been made plain enough that, so far as England is concerned, peasant proprietorship is an historical fiction. But I see that Professor Pearson (page 145) uses the much better word "yeomanry," as a synonym for the long and ungainly "peasant-proprietorship." Taking the yeoman simply as one who lives by the land, it may be asked, has a yeomanry no existence within the British dominions? Let the learned Professor of 1867 answer the learned Professor of 1877:—

"Among the positive results which colonial legislation has attained, the possession of cheap land on a simple tenure must be reckoned. The result was not one easy to compass. . . . Each colony has solved the problem of creating a yeomanry in its own fashion. In New South Wales, the principle of free selection is adopted. . . . In Victoria, land has been put up for sale in all parts, and in such quantities as to swamp the banks,* and lots are drawn to determine priority of choice. In South Australia, the blocks nearest to the capital are put up in rotation, and the sales proceed until the market appears to be glutted. Perhaps none of these systems is faultless. . . . Meanwhile the yeomanry has been called into existence."†

* Unhappily the banks would seem to have survived the shock without profiting by the lesson; for Professor Pearson, in page 147 of the article at the head of this paper, remarks upon the tendency of "the banks to supply money for speculation to shrewd land-jobbers."

† *Essays on Reform*, p. 206 ("The Working of Australian Institutions.")

Undoubtedly this is the correct view. In Australia, in Canada, and in the other colonies peopled from the mother land, are to be found her true yeomanry; and a thriving, energetic, improving, yeoman-like race they are. The hard discipline of necessity impels them to a constantly higher development of civilization, rendering the more ridiculous every generation any comparison between them and their sham compeers of France, not a few of whom, if Mr. W. R. Greg is to be believed, to this day thresh their corn by treading it out by oxen and horses, just as they did in Judea three thousand years ago. In such a millennium poor Mr. Henderson's agricultural machines might defy the custom-house.*

The yeomanry planted in the colonies fulfils its old function of supplying food to the English artizan, much more effectively and much more advantageously to all parties than was the case during any fanciful golden age in the past. The latest confirmation of this fact is found in the low price of corn in England during 1875 and 1876, in spite of the exceptionally bad harvests of those two years. The city artizan may thank his farmer-countrymen in Canada and Australia for the cheap loaf he never would have had without them, even though Britain had been gridironed by *morcellement forcé* from John O'Groat's to the Land's End.

It is important also to observe that the coincidence of cheap bread with short harvests in England was not accompanied by agricultural distress, which shows that the agricultural labourer, always free to seek the best market for his labour, escapes the risk of ruin from the vicissitudes of the seasons, which he would encounter as a peasant farmer.

But, conceding for the moment the absurdity that subdivision of land by force of law is a good thing, let us see what France has to offer in the way of actual results to prove the advantage. If the system possess in reality the merits attributed by its advocates, a considerable increase in the average yield of corn per acre, as compared with Great Britain, may be fairly looked for. In a country where an unusually large section of the population thrives by rural industry, a high price of landed property and a high rate of rent may be supposed to prevail. The stable character of the security, it will readily be believed, ought to induce a low rate of interest on mortgages; while good wages might be predicted from the abundance of capital and the unlimited field available for its

* See North Melbourne Election Speeches, April, 1877.

use. Nevertheless, it is a striking fact that in every one of these important points of comparison—rents, wages, interest, price of land, and yield of corn, the advantage lies unmistakeably with Great Britain. I quote the following statistics from the unexceptionable source of “The Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries,” 1870, second edition, page 431, merely adding that the researches of M. Léonce de Lavergne show that the average yield in England of every article of agricultural produce, and not of wheat only, is *double* that of the paradise of the peasant-proprietor, France.

COMPARISON OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH FRANCE AS TO TENURE,
RENTS, PRODUCE, WAGES, &C., ON AVERAGE SOILS :—

	Great Britain.	France.
Rents per acre	35s. England 46s. Scotland	25s. to 30s
Wages	2s. 6d. to 3s. Scotland 2s. to 2s. 6d. England	1s. 2d. to 1s. 8d. Average, 1s. 4d. Working 16 hours and Sundays.
Interest on Mortgages	4 to 5 per cent.	10 per cent.
Value of Land per acre	£50 to £100	£40 to £60
Produce per acre of		
Wheat in bushels ...	28, and 44 in high farming	14

The French yield of wheat is lower than that of either Ireland, Belgium, Prussia, or Austria.

So much for the “magical prosperity” which Professor Pearson declares to be born of “the subdivision of land.”

I mentioned just now that English commonages, which form the subject of the misunderstood Enclosure Acts, were originally the waste land of the manor, and that certain rights in respect of them belonged to the tenants as against the lord. These lands exhibit the last fading relic in England of the old clan system of joint occupancy of the soil; and, following the course of development which has gone on from the earliest historic times, are the last of all to be reduced into severalty. The enclosure of land, in the technical sense, means that the rights of parties are now determined in terms of acreage specifically, and no longer by the vague test of custom, or the privilege of running so many head of stock. The business of the Copyhold and Enclosure Commissioners is to examine into the relative claims of all parties, founded upon ancient custom, and apportion the area to be enclosed among the several claimants,

according to the nature of the award. The amount of consideration to be paid by applicants depends upon the customs previously observed, and varies widely; but the effect of enclosure is to convert the land to private property. It is alleged, and perhaps with truth, that the commissioners are prone to lean to the stronger side in their adjudications, but that is a mere question of disputed private rights, to be remedied in the ordinary way. The point upon which it is material to insist is that no one outside the parties immediately concerned suffers wrong by the enclosures. They were as necessary to the growing prosperity of England as was the repeal of the Corn Laws; and that nothing but good to the true interests of the nation, and therefore of the labouring classes, has resulted, every rational writer on the subject, since Fitzherbert and old Tusser,* has stoutly maintained.

"The country inclosed I praise,
The t'other delighteth not me,
For nothing the wealth it doth raise
To such as inferior be.
More plenty of mutton and beef,
Corn, butter, and cheese of the best;
More wealth anywhere, to be brief,
More people, more handsome and prest (neat),
Where find ye? Go search any coast,
Than there where inclosure is most.
More work for the labouring man,
As well in the town as the field," &c.

Not only do I venture to interpret the leading generalizations of English history upon the relation of the people to the land differently from Professor Pearson, but I submit that he has equally missed the whole point in the French system of land tenure. Impatient to exhibit the virtues of manufactured law, he ascribes to the Revolution the origin of the French land law, one of the most indubitably archaic of all the customs of Europe. He writes of the time just succeeding the Revolution:—

"To French legislators, however, the example of past times seemed so decisive against large estates, so emphatic in favour of small properties, that the Code Napoleon, which rather represents conservative reaction than a revolutionary spirit, confirmed that law of succession sketched by Mirabeau and recommended by Talleyrand, under which . . . the subdivision of the soil has been not only perpetuated but increased." p. 134.

* Tusser's "Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry," temp. Elizabeth. Quoted in Nasse, p. 83:

Those scholars who have at last convinced most people that a detailed study of French society before the Revolution is a condition of comprehending not only the consequences of the Revolution but also its causes, declare over and over again that the law of subdivision did not originate with the Revolution. It had been the general law of France for centuries previously, and it was a rule of the Roman Civil Law. In France it was under the old regime opposed to the law of primogeniture, which had the adherence of the old nobility. The handiwork of the Revolution-mongers was not inventing the law of *morcellement*, for it was old before they were young, but extending it. They pulled down the land law of the nobility, and set up that of the commonalty, but they originated nothing.*

Admitting the worst that can be said of the oppressive and barbarous shape given to the feudal rule of the old nobility (and Englishmen may thank the Conqueror and his Salisbury Gemôt in 1086—Freeman N.C., IV., 694—primarily for their own exemption from similar horrors), it applied only to part of France. Within the large area which from time to time had become emancipated from feudal services, the law was substantially the existing law; and it is presumed, as praiseworthy.

After so much contrariety of opinion, it would have been pleasant to agree with the learned professor that in calling up Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, and brushing off the dust and cobwebs of twenty centuries, he has fairly produced the typical land reformer needed in this sorely-vexed country. What a pity that even here the squareness of the ancient facts cannot be squeezed to the roundness of the modern theory.

In a note upon the Roman land system, Professor Pearson observes :—

“Those who wish to consult the working of a system very like our Victorian land law, will find Mommsen’s or Merivale’s account of the agrarian laws of T. Gracchus very interesting. The Gracchan system was finally destroyed by the abolition of the residence clause, and by license to alienate. But a system that can only be maintained by such stringent enactments as these is at least highly artificial.”

I need not remind Professor Pearson, though I may pardonably venture the liberty with some of his readers, that between the land system of ancient Rome and the land system of Victoria, one vital point of difference destroys completely the alleged similarity. With

* Maine, *Early Institutions*. p. 112.

us, in Victoria, the State has parted with its property in the land respecting which it designs to legislate. In Rome, the State still preserved its ownership of the soil. The Gracchan legislation, like the Licinian legislation before it, merely sought to curtail the rights of what we should call Crown tenants (*possessores*) to squat upon unlimited areas of Crown land (*publicus ager*), as we should say. It was no part of the scheme of Tiberius to convert the holdings from State property to private property; his object was simply to cut up the large runs. In his day, as Mr. Robertson points out, the proprietary right was limited to the little plot of garden ground (*heredium*) on which the house was built, resembling the "toft and croft" of the mediæval period. But perhaps Professor Pearson merely intends to point out that Tiberius' legislation failed because it was artificial and not natural. If so, the learned professor has done good service, but not to the special cause he is advocating. The terrible issue of that first of popular attempts to "burst up" one set of occupiers of land to make room for another, is among the eternal lessons of history. There are in all the records of man's political career few sadder or more solemn recitals than Dr. Mommsen's narrative of the progressive decay of all that was good and wise in republican institutions from the time when Tiberius Gracchus vainly tried to oust the landed capitalists in Italy from the broad domains which they cultivated at a profit, and to put on them instead the idle and unwilling city loafers of ancient Rome. To that one measure of supreme political mischief is due more than to any other single cause the bitter misery encompassing the last age of the Republic; and, as a warning to be had in lasting remembrance, I quite agree that impatient land-reformers from one end of the British dominions to the other, "will find Mommsen's or Merivale's account of the agrarian laws of T. Gracchus very interesting." Here are the words with which Dr. Mommsen closes the second chapter of the Fourth Book:—

"The infamous butchery through which he perished condemns itself as it condemns the aristocratic faction whence it issued; but the glory of martyrdom with which it has embellished the name of Tiberius Gracchus came in this instance, as usually, to the wrong man. The best of his contemporaries judged otherwise. When the catastrophe was mentioned to Scipio Aemilianus, he uttered the words of Homer:

So perish all who do the like again.

and when the younger brother of Tiberius seemed disposed to come forward in the same career, his own mother wrote to him:—"Shall, then, our house have

no end of madness? Where shall be the limit? Have we not yet enough to be ashamed of in having confused and disorganized the State?"

"So spoke not the anxious mother, but the daughter of the conqueror of Carthage, who knew of a misfortune yet greater than the death of her children."

Leaving that hero of the foregone time to his proper duty of pointing a moral, we must hurry back to the degenerate present. To justify the enforced division of large estates, in other words, to justify the limitation of the right to hold land beyond a given area, stress is laid upon the *right* of the State to resume private lands.

The right of the State is not called in question so long as the exercise of the right is confined to State purposes, and only to State purposes. The State has the right to take private lands for roads, for railways, for public edifices, and for an increasing host of other strictly national purposes. To put those rights into exercise upon fitting occasions is part of the duty of statesmanship. But the State has no right to take the private possessions of A, its citizen, in order to give them to its citizens X and Y; and the circumstance that a precedent for the practice may be found here and there in times of violence, does not mend matters in the least. The constitutional rule is well known—Professor Pearson himself quotes it—*Salus populi suprema lex esto*, only *populus* is not to be translated populace.

But this right of the State is in no way peculiar to land. Upon needful occasions it has been exercised, and may again be exercised, over personal property. Such is the case of war requisitions, where the State may upon emergency, compel any of its subjects to supply munitions for the common defence. Moreover, it extends to persons as well as to property of all kinds; witness the undoubted prerogative of impressment for the navy; but the common principle governs them all.

Just to shew that there is nothing unique or unheard of in the modern proposals, let me produce a precedent of Henry VIII.'s for "bursting up" the squatters of the period by limiting their holdings. The Statute 25 Henry VIII., cap., 13, recites in a tone of comic anguish which the twelfth generation has heard re-echoed, that on some farms there ranged flocks of sheep from ten thousand to twenty thousand, and that divers persons of "abundance of moveable substance" have obtained as well great multitude of farms as great plenty of cattle, and thereby raised and enhanced the price of cattle, wool, &c. It then enacts that no one shall keep on lands not his own inheritance more than two thousand sheep, on penalty of 3s. 4d. a sheep; and no one shall occupy more than two

farms. There is the respectable authority of Hume for affirming, what might have been guessed *a priori*, that this legislation was practically inoperative. And that is the pity of it; for in some things the legislation of Henry's faithful Commons was by no means inoperative. In attainders or, what was to them the same thing, a want of confidence motion, they stand unrivalled. But, though the attempt was heroic, they could not cancel natural laws by a mere resolution of the House.

One other instance is worth mentioning. It shows the fruits of a painful effort undertaken by one of the Tudor Parliaments to make the working man of the period a farmer on his own account. The Act, 31 Elizabeth, cap., 7, imposed penalties upon the building of cottages for the agricultural population, without having four acres of land attached to each. "It is of the essence of statesmanship to anticipate an evil," Professor Pearson assures us (p. 148); and, without doubt, Elizabeth's advisers in 1589 were in a mood to agree with him, for, like most enthusiasts, they anticipated evil by creating it. The Act was repealed in 1775, and Sir Frederick Eden thus describes its effects: "I know several parishes in which the greatest difficulty the poor labour under is the impossibility of procuring habitations I am acquainted with one parish in the neighbourhood of a populous city, in which, from the difficulty of procuring tenements or small plots of land to build on, poor people have more than once availed themselves of a long night to rear a hovel on the roadside or on the common."* And this was because a fatherly government would not let people build their own houses in their own way.

In reviewing Professor Pearson's comparison of France with England in point of natural advantages and actual productiveness, I must pass over the grotesqueness of citing the brilliant but rather unscrupulous partizan, Paul Louis Courier,† as a sober authority on the economic condition of the French peasantry‡ (p. 134.) Nor can I do

* "Eden's State of the Poor," i. 36. "Pict. History," v. 582.

† By an inadvertence, the learned Professor styles him a nobleman.

‡ The following passage from Macaulay's *Essay on "Southey's Colloquies on Society"* may stand beside Professor Pearson's extract from Courier. The whole *Essay* is worth reading as an instructive commentary on the limits of Government:—"The beginning of the year 1817 was a time of great distress in this island. But the state of the lowest classes here was luxury compared to that of the people of France. We find in Majendie's "*Journal de Physiologie Experimentale*," a paper on a point of physiology connected with the distress of that season. It appears that the inhabitants of six departments—Aix, Jura, Doubs, Haute Saone, Voeges,

more than faintly hint my disbelief that "the greatest interest of all in France, the agricultural, must be solidly prosperous" (p. 135), *because*, among other things, the receipts of the Registration and *Mortgage Duties* came to 18 millions last year. (Michelet, who might be supposed to know something about it, said some years back that the amount of the mortgages on the peasant farms was 400 millions.) Neither am I disposed to join that numerous party which marvels that France has outgrown her troubles so quickly, seeing that the phenomenon receives such a simple explanation in Mill's chapter entitled "Fundamental Propositions respecting Capital."

But there are two or three everyday matters concerning the relative condition of the two countries, around which I venture to think Professor Pearson has woven a dense tangle of error and confusion. He points out the unfairness of comparing "so vast a country as France, with its many differences of soil and climate, with a singularly rich country as England undoubtedly is." An overwhelming concurrence of authority places it beyond doubt that the differences of soil between the two countries considered as aggregates (for France is after all not so very vast) is small and rather in favour of the continental country; while for all the purposes of agriculture and pasturage, the climate of England is notoriously and beyond all doubt or cavil the inferior of the two.

Again, we are told that "France having no coalfields of importance, has to set aside nearly 20 millions of acres for timber, and these must of course be deducted from the food producing parts of its territory."

As a matter of fact, France stands third in order as a coal producing country of Europe,* Great Britain and Germany standing first and second. She raises 17 millions of tons per annum, which is as much as Scotland turns out and more than Belgium; whatever larger quantity she requires is purchased from either the last named country

and Saone et Loire—were reduced, first, to oatmeal and potatoes, and at last to nettles, beanstalks, and other kinds of herbage fit only for cattle; that when the next harvest enabled them to eat barley bread, many of them died from intemperate indulgence in what they thought an exquisite repast; and that a dropsy of a peculiar description was produced by the hard fare of the year. Dead bodies were found on the roads and in the fields. A single surgeon dissected six of these and found the stomach shrunk and filled with the unwholesome aliments which hunger had driven men to share with beasts. Such extremity of distress as this is never heard of in England or even in Ireland."

* Martin's "Statesman's Year-Book, 1876." p. xxxix.

or from Great Britain. There is at this moment a strong agitation going on in France in favour of permitting the communes to part with their timber country, in order that it may be bought up by peasant proprietors anxious to increase their holdings. This subject is in fact the prominent topic of provincial gossip, occupying the place of the weather and the "Claimant" in English villages.

It is now admitted that the race of small proprietors in France is not increasing.* *Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurrit.* Already the larger and richer proprietors are buying out the smaller. Already the average area of each holding is getting wider. Already the much belauded *morcellement forcé* is shrewdly suspected of affording over strong temptation to repress the growth of population,† and thereby cheat the intention of the highly artificial law of bequest, besides tending to put France out of the running as a great military power. Already is it the rule and not the exception for the members of a family, on coming into possession of the law-divided patrimony to adjust the individual shares of personalty and realty, so that the latter shall not be broken up. To such an extent have these causes already operated that the proportion of large proprietors in France and England is not so divergent as one might suppose, if he did not take the trouble of looking at the evidence.‡

* Arthur Young estimated the peasant properties, "that is little farms belonging to those who cultivate them," as occupying in France more than a third of the kingdom in 1789. Recent French inquiries make the proportion as at that time still larger. See *Maine's Early Institutions*, Lecture V., for a valuable discussion of the subject.

† See Mr. Shaw Lefevre's Paper, in "Statistical Society's Journal, for 1876," p. 672.

‡ Comparative table, compiled from the data given by M. Léonce de Lavergne for France, and by *The Times* of 7th April, 1876, for England. It shows the error of supposing that in the French system large holdings have no place.

	England.	France.
Small Holdings ...	703,298 persons own less than 1 acre, dividing 151,000 acres.	Five millions, dividing one-third of France. Has decreased since the Revolution.
Medium-sized Holdings	227,023 holders of more than 1 acre and less than 100. They divide 4,021,000 acres.	500,000 owners spread over an equal area.
Large Holdings ...	42,524 persons own more than 100 acres; they average 678 acres, and divide 28,841,000 acres.	50,000 persons own the remainder of France, averaging 750 acres each, or 37 millions of acres in all.

The table explains that in France 50,000 persons are possessed of 37 millions of acres, while in England something less than 29 millions of acres are held by 42,524 proprietors. In the first-named country the law compels every testator possessed of real property to divide it among the several members of his family; but, in spite of that powerful solvent, large estates in France have already assumed the proportions stated in the table, and shew a decided tendency to increase. Hence the unreasonableness of praising the French land laws at the expense of our own as a means of preventing the accumulation of large estates is manifest.

But here comes a statement really astounding: Professor Pearson's historical conclusions may now and then have seemed a little out at elbows with the facts, but his political economy has completely run away with him, "Roughly speaking, we may say that a population of thirty-six millions (the French) supports itself on an area of about seventy millions (of acres)." Fortunately the unequivocal proof of statistics, French as well as English, can be adduced to controvert this dangerously misleading assertion. I subjoin in tabulated form the particulars of the importation into France during the last three years of twelve principal articles of national consumption. The figures are taken from the "*Annuaire de l'Economie Politique*," for 1876, p. 41., and from the *Economist*, for 27th January, 1877, p. 98, and they will be found, without any roughness of speaking, to point to a conclusion directly opposed to that at which the learned Professor has arrived.

IMPORTS INTO FRANCE OF 12 PRINCIPAL ARTICLES FOR HOME CONSUMPTION.

(The figures stand for millions of francs.)

				1876.		1875.		1874.
Corn and Flour	...	...	...	227	...	138	...	330
Pulse and Meal	...	...	...	27	...	8	...	(The above includes grain of all kinds.)
Table Fruits	...	...	...	34	...	27	...	29
Wines	...	...	...	28	...	13	...	29
Cattle	...	...	...	153	...	111	...	100
Salted Meats	...	...	...	27	...	17	...	18
Tallow	...	...	...	45	...	22	...	27
Cheese and Butter	34	...	28	...	25
Tobacco	35	...	21	...	36
Sugar	96	...	111	...	92
Olive Oil	34	...	36	...	19
Oil Seeds	87	...	90	...	63

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Irrespective of the question whether it is *per se* a good thing or not for a nation to grow whatever it can buy without the trouble of growing, it is impossible in the face of such figures as these to contend that France is self-supporting.

Professor Pearson next appeals to æsthetics to put a warm flesh tint on the otherwise unlovely picture of hectolitres, percentages, and hectares. The appeal, it must be owned, is a relief. He writes :—

“I have not left myself space to enter at any length into the question—How far the possession of land affects the character of the peasant? and I care the less to do it as the strength of the Liberal* position is generally admitted to be on this side” (p. 141).

He then quotes a few lines from Hugh Miller, whose extensive knowledge of the working classes made him an unexceptionable authority. The passage is in praise of the thrift and forethought of “the small farmer of the last age, who had to drive his bargains *with his Martinmas and Whitsuntide settlement with his landlord full before him.*” A classical education was often brought within the reach of some promising sons or nephews of “the *old tenant-farmers*, who wrought their little farms with their own hands.”

And this passage, in Professor Pearson’s own words, “gives the gist of the whole argument for small proprietorship,” besides illustrating the manifold blessings accruing from “independence of a master”!

That the argument has not an atom of backbone will be clear on reading the words italicised. The strength of the Liberal position assuredly rests on the weakness of its dialectics, if the prosperity of the Scottish *tenantry*, an austere landlord race, is to be adduced to prove the happiness of peasant *land-owning*.

We may take comfort, however, in learning that the race of Scottish tenant-farmers (the modern representative yeomen) is as far from being extinct as it is from being crushed by overbearing landlordism. The success of these men is the best

* Is it possible to classify, under any known division of political parties, a Victorian Liberal A.D. 1877? In 1867, a Liberal in Victoria was, as Professor Pearson himself has substantially told us (“On the Working of Australian Institutions,” in *Essays on Reform*, page 199), one whose politics were reflected in the *Spectator* newspaper, as contrasted with “the Protectionist *Age*.” This definition, it may be presumed, like the newspaper which tested it, has not outlived the decennary. Old-world lore does not help us any better. There is a sound induction from the days of King John and his Barons to those of Queen Victoria and the Irish Church, that Liberalism means the freedom of the individual *versus* the power of the State. Upon examination I fear this second definition would prove as inapplicable to the case in point as the first.

example in the British Islands of what wise legislation may do when it concedes security of tenure to land. Nowhere more than among the Lothian farmers is the profundity of Montesquieu's dictum illustrated—that nations are cultivated not according to their fertility but their liberty. Nor is the cause of so much affluence hard to trace. In Mr. Smiles' "Lives of the Engineers," Vol. II., a simple story is told of how, just a century ago, a Mr. Cockburn, of Ormiston, gave one of his tenants a lease. Thirty years afterwards the nickname, "lazy Scotch," had been forgotten.

There is no occasion to refer to the Highland evictions to which reference is made (page 130), inasmuch as the subject has been of late freely examined in the newspapers. It may be well to mention, however, that the *Statistical Society's Journal* for 1866, contains a lucid and exhaustive paper by the Duke of Argyll on "The Economic Condition of the Highlands of Scotland." The facts and inferences set forth in that essay have never been controverted, and a mastery of them would set at rest most of the nonsense now current on the subject.

Another incontestably erroneous set of results by which the English labourer is made out to be far worse off than the labourer in France, needs a brief notice. The principle of the calculation is the "reducing wages to an equivalent in grain," so as to arrive at the actual purchasing power of the money payment at a given period, or in a given country.

The worthlessness of this, as a crucial test of comparative prosperity, will be evident upon a moment's consideration. The price of flour in Melbourne six months ago was £12 a ton; six weeks ago it had risen to £18 a ton, an increase of fifty per cent., and there was a *pro rata* change in the price of wheat. In other words, a workman who could buy three bags of flour with a week's wages in January, could only command two bags with the same wages in May. Has that advance in price affected the money rate of labourers' wages in this city to the extent of six pence a day? It is well known that it has not; and yet if this unsound economic theory is to hold, the price of unskilled labour measured by a wheat standard, ought to have gone up at least three shillings a day in the interval. It is presumable that the relation between wheat and money wages, if true, in 1777, in France and England, cannot be false in 1877 in Victoria. Yet it certainly is false, unless, indeed, the "new country" explanation, that universal solvent of all economic subtleties in the southern hemisphere, is to be forced

upon us. Without stopping to examine why there cannot be a necessary relation between the price of labour and the price of wheat, any more than between the price of labour and the price of moleskins, or the price of tobacco, let me mention that thousands of workmen a century ago did not eat wheat at all, and that, therefore, for all practical purposes their wages might as well be estimated in "macutes," or "bricks of tea," or any other of the fanciful standards which have found at sundry times more favour than they deserve.

I will set down a short summary of Arthur Young's experiences, gathered during his agricultural tour in the summer of 1768, in which that fact comes out very prominently. He declares that at Leeds, and other places in Yorkshire, much oat food was used besides wheat; at Kendal and elsewhere in Westmoreland, the common food was oats exclusively; at Warrington, a mixture of oats and barley was the staple nourishment; at Alnwick, and generally in Northumberland, labourers were supported on barley and pease; at Penrith, it was barley alone, or barley and rye; at Newcastle it was chiefly rye; at Morpeth it was rye, or wheat and pease, or barley and pease; at two other places, Raby in Durham, and Shenston in Staffordshire, it was *maslin* (i.e., hominy bread); at Glenwelt in Cumberland, it was barley and pease, or beans and oatmeal; at Altringham in Cheshire, it was a mixture of wheat and barley, while at Keswick, a compound of oats and barley formed the popular dietary.*

Turning to the economic aspect of the case, the question may be raised, what is a new country for economic purposes? I am disposed to answer that it means a country, the average mass of whose inhabitants do not enter into economic relations: whose economic faculty—so to speak—is as yet undeveloped or but imperfectly developed. The comparative study of widely differing forms of society leaves little doubt that the economic stage, like the jural stage, is not reached at an early period of evolution. The precise period is hard to fix, perhaps impossible, but is not earlier than the conception of a community as distinguished from a number of co-ordinate groups of clans. Whenever the science of political economy is reconstructed, as one day it must be, from the historical stand-point, it may be safely predicted that a new country, in the sense of a country colonized from an old one, will be harassed by no exceptional conditions. Such communities take with them fully developed capacities for economic and jural organisation;

* Pict. Hist., vol. v., p. 578.

their institutions bear a general resemblance to those of the parent state, but adjust themselves by natural and spontaneously developed agencies to the novel conditions in which their exercise is called for. We constantly hear the United States spoken of as a new country, though if its social development be a test, it is far and away older than Russia, to which the term is never applied. And if the United States be a new country, is it equally new in all its divisions? The most wealthy States of the Union were absolutely unexplored at the time independence was declared, just a century back. The Atlantic States on the other hand certainly contain older societies than Yorkshire and Lancashire, which at the accession of the House of Brunswick were little more than desert moorland, but now form the central hive of British industry, and are pointed to as the very type and pattern of mature economic organisation.

Or, latest instance of all, would any one dream of calling Alsace and Lorraine new countries, merely because their nationality has changed since 1871?

The truth I believe to be that no distinction between new countries, in the sense commonly given to the term, and old countries can be successfully maintained. The assumed distinction is founded upon mistaken considerations, and is absolutely worthless whenever it is not absolutely mischievous, as a basis for legislative interference.

There seems, moreover, though I confess to some timidity in saying so, to be valid reason for doubting the correctness of the doctrine of the "unearned increment."

That doctrine, the fruition of the late Mr. Mill's experience as a practical politician, and not the outcome of the theoretical teachings of his earlier years, assumes, among other peculiarities alleged to give land an exceptional position as an object of legislation, that it was not made by man, but is the gift of nature to the whole human race. This may be at once conceded. But neither did man make any one of the articles of commerce with which it is sought on this account to contrast land. It is only in a metaphorical sense, such as we employ in speaking of "made ground," that man is a maker of hats, or of tables, or of houses, or of any article of manufacture. He impresses his labour upon objects of nature, and he does nothing else. Land and its products, whether organic or inorganic, form vehicles for human labour, and derive value solely because labour has been expended upon them, directly or indirectly; for it cannot be too carefully

remembered that labour is the great central fact of political economy. The favourite illustration to show that land calls for exceptional treatment in legislation is to suppose an acre of land in Collins-street purchased at the first land sale in the colony, and left unused ever since. It is contended that the owners of to-day ought not to be allowed to participate in the increased value which the land has derived merely from the accident of its position, and not from any merit in the possessor. To the objection that, if the present owner be not entitled, no one has a better right, it is usually replied that the State, as representing the community, ought to be given the right. But not only did the State part with its ownership nearly forty years ago, at the same time as it sold the adjoining acres now covered with costly buildings, but it has been since paid fully in the shape of taxation for any service it may have rendered in protecting the rights of the owner. In short, the State has no stronger claim upon the increase in value of the unimproved property than it has upon the most valuably improved allotment in the street, unless we adopt the pure and simple form of communism, which denies absolutely the right of private property in land. To legalise the confiscation or even the taxation of the "unearned increment" as it is represented by the present market value of property, would be unjust. To apply such a principle to the future would be absurd and immoral. It would be absurd, because collusive sales at every substantial change in the market value would defeat the incidence of the tax. It would be immoral, because it would tend to generate among property-holders the same temptation to fraud that we see in commercial life whenever taxation is inquisitorial.

Professor Pearson, following the English Land Tenure Reform School, relies upon the fact that land cannot be produced or extended at pleasure to establish a distinction from other forms of property. The truth of this dictum is very questionable.

To begin with, the comparison is a confused one, for it is set up between land in some particular locality, say England or Victoria, on the one hand, and the whole of the purchasable commodities on the earth's surface of the kind compared, on the other hand. The first is specific, the second general. But at any given time and in any given country property other than land is just as rigorously limited in quantity as is the land itself at the same time and place. And if more of either land or other property be wanted than happens to exist at the moment in the locality, the answer to either demand is the same:—You

must go abroad for it. And if it be asked how it is proposed to bring land from foreign parts to Melbourne, the reply is that it is to be done in the same way as land is brought from Dandenong or from Brunswick to Melbourne, by bringing its produce, the only valuable attribute it has. That nobody wants the land, merely as land, any more than he wants the sea, is clear from the fact that thousands of acres within twenty miles of Melbourne may be bought for little more than the original cost of fencing. The confusion is like that into which people fall when, wanting wages, they say they want work.

That the land exists abroad in abundance, enough and to spare for all the generations of men a remote future is likely to see under the existing dispensation of natural laws, will not be doubted after a moment's reflection. Setting aside the endless stretches of American prairie as yet unseamed by the plough; and omitting all mention of the wondrous fertility of the Amazon river flats, rich enough and spacious enough to grow food for all the nations of the earth for generations to come, let us recall Africa with nine millions of square miles of available country and Asia with twelve millions of square miles. Each affords ample room and verge enough for the wildest visions of the most earth hungry; and it is quite to the point that these regions have in past times proved their capability by supporting enormous populations.

But vast and almost inconceivable as these foreign resources are, they need give us no concern. Our theatre for future development is closer home. Victoria happily possesses some three and twenty millions of acres as yet uncoveted by the most ardent land reformer amongst us. Leaving for the time being the remaining thirty-three millions to the kites and crows, we may confine our attention to the area of twenty-three millions of acres, which Mr. Hayter rather prematurely sets down as worthless. This "worthless" space is equal to three times the area of Belgium, and bad as the acres are in quality of soil they are not inferior on the average to the soil of Belgium in its natural state. Yet in 1873, Belgium contained a thriving population of five and a quarter millions of souls, and more than seven-eighths of its territory were under the management of large farmers and landowners. Belgium exemplifies the result of patient industry applied to agriculture untrammelled with any State interference, for, imperfect as some other institutions are, she enjoys free trade in land. Were the rest of Europe peopled to the same density, that continent alone would hold more than double the estimated

population existing on the globe. But scientific husbandry has not yet dawned upon Victoria. Whenever it does, and the vile practice of breaking the heart of the land and leaving it comes to an end, we shall find the enthusiasm which is now shown for improving our breeds of sheep and cattle extended to the improving our harvests from the soil. Then will be revealed the golden truths hidden in such experiments as those of Mr. Hallett (*Agricultural Society's Journal*, vol. xxii.), shewing that in England alone a million of quarters of grain could be saved every year, by merely altering the old-fashioned mode of sowing; and that, by careful selection of seed, the yield could be augmented from 50 fold—the ordinary return—to 2000 fold, the return he secured under one set of experiments.

Returning to the question of the "unearned increment," it is worth while asking what would be the duty of the State in dealing with an "*unearned decrement*?" At Ballarat, Castlemaine, Wood's Point, and several other towns upon the goldfields, lands were bought many years ago at the Crown sales which would not now realise one-twentieth part of the sums paid by the original purchasers. If the lucky owner of land which has acquired enormous value merely by the progress of society is to forfeit so much of his advantage as accrues from that cause, it seems to follow that the unlucky owner of land which by the same process—the progress of society—has become enormously reduced in value ought to have the deficit made up to him.

There is a case worth considering of an "increment" arising out of the operation of the revenue laws in this country and assuredly "unearned." I refer to those local manufactures, such as slop clothing and candles, which are sold for export at a cheaper rate than for home consumption, owing to the handicap of the protective duty. The effect is to make a Victorian-made commodity dearer to the consumer who lives in the colony than it is to the consumer living out of the colony; and it is obvious the difference is unearned, though the Victorian manufacturer receives it. Failing the natural mode of confiscating that form of "increment" by repealing the duty, the case may be commended as not dissimilar from that of land.

Another class of property, shares in public companies, has been remarked as possessing a close analogy to land in its capacity of acquiring an "unearned increment," as civilization proceeds. An original shareholder in such institutions as the Bank of New South Wales, the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney, the Australian Mutual Provident Society, or the Burra-Burra Mining Company,

ought (upon the principle assumed) to form a tempting subject for fiscal dissection. Upon a like footing stand works of art (*e. g.*, old paintings which increase in value with time), and the exceptionally large incomes of first-rate professional men.

I have not space to pursue the subject, but perhaps enough has been said to raise a probability that to Victoria at all events, the theory of the "unearned increment" does not apply.

A favourite method of justifying Professor Pearson's proposal to limit the right to hold property in land is to suppose all the land in the country bought up some fine morning by one individual, and to ask what would be the effect if he took it into his autocratic head to give every one but himself notice to quit.

These reasoners forget that before such a state of things could be created, all the land must be *sold* by the present owners, a race keenly sensitive to a bargain, and even in these early days quite alive to keeping the land market stiff. They forget, too, that consequences no less disastrous are possible every day of the week, and yet excite no notice. It is not half so extravagant to suppose all the corn, or all the live stock, or all the wearing apparel in the colony suddenly bought up by a single investor; yet a proposal to legislate against the prospective monopoly would not be likely to find favour, albeit the contingency to be provided against is less remote than one which seriously exercises many capable minds at this moment.

The same free state of the law which gives theoretic possibility to such accumulation, also encourages the owner to make the best economic use of the land; and the best economic use is that use which enables it to satisfy the widest possible number of men's wants. For it is pretty well known that in the business of life, and in a state of freedom, every man undertakes first what pays him best. He will not, therefore, become a great land buyer until it is the most profitable occupation upon which he can enter. But that which is most profitable to him is identically that for which other people will give most, and they will give most for what they want most. Hence those who have land and want money will part with the land as soon as they believe the money to be to them the more valuable of the two things. It follows from this that the large land-owner is a benefactor to his fellow-men; for he has given in exchange for the land which he wants, the money which they want; and in this as in every other example of exchange each has secured the object of his desire. It follows too, that if the law were to impose the restraint

sought by Professor Pearson, the law would thereby prevent the seller of land from getting the highest possible price for his possessions.

There is yet another point deserving of attention. Every economist will allow that the best use to which land can be put is that which will best ensure its productive powers being sustained and improved. The hundreds of worn-out farms scattered over the counties of Bourke, Grant, Grenville, and Talbot, constitute a bitter indictment of the reckless tillage pursued in the past. And how brief the past ! Mother Earth might with literal truth put forward her plea to be spared further desecration from such unworthy cultivators in the words of the Hebrew King :—"Forty years long was I grieved with this generation and said : It is a people that do err in their hearts for they have not known my ways." May it not be that, as the lands gradually fall into the possession of men of capital, and a race of tenant farmers becomes established, the prudence of the landlords will make careful husbandry a condition of their leases, and thus conserve the precious energies of the soil which the bad farming of petty freeholders has hitherto dissipated.

In the preceding pages I have expressed the grounds of my dissent from Professor Pearson's conclusions upon various historical questions germane to land legislation. No fairer opportunity ever fell to man's lot than has fallen to Professor Pearson's of doing a brave part to elevate and refine the political manhood of his adopted land. That opportunity has been grievously misused ; and for him there is no excuse. He could have done with eminent credit to himself the little that only the best can do to lighten the load of superstitions that degrade and afflict the electoral body. But the thoughtful historian has yielded to the unreflecting partisan ; and the clear stream of England's history is abandoned for a poisoned well beside the Seine. I have a right, then, to urge my humble protest ; but, while a sense of duty tells me that I must in common fairness put my name at the foot of this article, and thereby assume the responsibility of the objections I have raised, I am conscious of a difficulty that gives me pain. Whenever criticism of this disagreeable kind is not anonymous a want of personal generosity is commonly attributed to the reviewer ; so hard do men find it to believe that, true though it be, a cordial hatred of their phantasies may coexist with a high degree of respect for themselves.

I have set down nothing but what I believe to be capable of strict

historical verification; and what a man believes to be true he is assuredly authorised to utter, if only he think fit.

In conclusion, it may be well to collect the principal points discussed.

Professor Pearson argues in effect—

1. That within the last century the class of peasant-proprietors has disappeared, or nearly disappeared, from England; that large estates have grown up; that the enclosure of land has been enormous; that the country grows a smaller proportion of its own food; that the condition of the agricultural labourer has deteriorated from these causes; and that the Legislature ought to encourage subdivision of land to check the evil.

2. That in France peasant-proprietorship was created by the Revolution; that it has placed two-thirds of the agricultural population in a better position than the corresponding class in England, while the remainder are not worse off; and that, in consequence of the minute subdivision of the soil, France is enabled to grow all her own food.

3. That if peasant-proprietorship according to the French system were introduced to Victoria, the capitalists would buy out the small owners; and that, therefore, as the present system fails, it is necessary to limit the size of holding that any man may lawfully possess.

My own view may be thus concisely stated—

1. Peasant-proprietorship is a form of tenure which practically has never existed in England. The service rendered to France by this class is incomparably better rendered to England by tenant-farmers and by colonists. The decay of the agricultural population has arisen from the adoption of other occupations, and forms a natural step in the growth of a nation. Tenant-farming avoids one of the evils already developed in Victoria, that, namely, of exhausting the productive powers of the soil by bad tillage; while in a free state of the law the accumulation of landed property is contingent upon its being the most profitable form of investment. The Enclosure Acts in England I have shewn to be beneficial in their tendency; while the condition of the agricultural labourer is one of fair comfort, much superior to that of the French labourer, and less dependent upon the accidents of seasons than the small proprietor in France.

2. Peasant-proprietorship in France, far from being a creation of the Revolution, is merely a survival of the ancient general tenure.

The existence of peasant-proprietors in such large numbers demonstrates the inferiority of the national development ; division of employment is limited ; the returns to labour are small ; and the higher influences of civilization are retarded. Though I reject as utterly fallacious the doctrine that would exalt agricultural industry above the general industry, and though I hold to be erroneous that view which would test a country's prosperity by the quantity of food it grows, and not by the quantity it can afford to buy and pay for, yet I have given tabulated statements to show that France does not, as a matter of fact, any more than England, grow all the food she consumes ; and that the tendency to form large estates in land is more striking in France than in England.

3. The action of the State cannot be just when it meddles with freedom of exchange between individuals. Hence all limitations upon the right of acquisition, as well as all schemes whether of taxing or of confiscating the "unearned increment" of land, are improper ; and this view is confirmed by illustrations from Roman as well as English history. I might have added that, to confer the full measure of freedom needed, the abolition of the protective law of entail beyond lives actually in being at the death of the testator is called for.

J. S. ELKINGTON.

THE SUICIDAL STAGE OF EXISTENCE.

I.

Cease to wail and brawl!
Why inch by inch to darkness crawl?
Believe me, there's one end to all.

—*The Two Voices*.—TENNYSON.

"I AM beholden to every man I meet," says Sir Thomas Browne, in the *Religio Medici*, "that he does not take my life." A less humane, but more egoistic philosopher would have looked upon himself as the potential murderer, and shifted the onus of gratulation on to his neighbours. This latent criminal attitude, however, can be brought to a still more personal nearness by insisting that, with regard to life, every man is beholden to himself that he does not take his own. Even in these self-sufficing days of "every one his own lawyer, his own doctor," &c., a doctrine suggestive of "every man his own murderer," may be somewhat too startling for general reception.

The present paper, however, is an attempt to prove that every individual man, before arriving at maturity, passes through a painful intellectual phase, which may positively be called suicidal.

This condition corresponds to that period of life lying between adolescence and full manhood, and may be roughly estimated as extending from the last of the "teens" to about the 33rd or 35th year—thus occupying the whole of that steep picturesque incline which it is necessary to mount before reaching the table-lands of middle age. The few exceptional instances, in the way either of precocity or delay, will be disposed of later.

As we have to deal here with a phasis peculiar to the intellect, and quite a private property of mental growth, we shall find its manifestations feeble (though decisively existent) among 'the general,' well marked among those of average intelligence, and of startling proportions among those gifted with genius or ability. Curiously enough, and mainly for physiological reasons, to be considered in due time, women even though dowered with the highest intellectuality are not included in our earthly *Purgatorio*; the stray exceptions, such as Sappho and Georges Sand, being on careful examination merely contributions to the proof of the rule.

If, as is here contended, a suicidal stage of existence be common to mankind, we may assume that it is both natural and necessary.

The mind must have its measles, to use Maudsley's expression, as well as the body, and we shall see how certainly, except in rare instances, the intellectual is as remediable as the bodily complaint; otherwise, the mere determination by statistics of the age at which suicide is most prevalent would settle the question. It must be remembered that I am not dealing here with what we may call *ab externo*, accidental, sporadic, and unnatural tendencies to suicide, as distinguished successively from *ab interno*, constant, pandemic, and natural examples. The distinguishing feature of the former is the suicidal terminus, while in the latter the goal, though ever so closely approached, should not be actually reached. The adjective suicidal is thus used as implying either the tendency or the accomplishment.

Having stated the proposition, it will perhaps be more convenient to work downwards from general to particular instances, than in the opposite way; and this being determined, the analogy between the nation and the individual at once suggests itself. The greatest thinkers from Plato to Montesquieu, and on to Comte and Herbert Spencer, have found in the body politic the mere larger individual. This belief, now generally accepted, is the groundwork for example of Dr. Draper's *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, and Dr. Temple's celebrated thesis, *The Education of the World*, which appeared in *The Essays and Reviews*. The human race, according to the latter writer, is—

A colossal man, whose life reaches from the creation to the day of judgment. The successive generations of men are days in this man's life. The creeds and doctrines, the opinions and principles of the successive ages are his thoughts. He grows in knowledge, in self-control, in visible size, just as we do. . . .
 . . . Man cannot be considered an individual. He is in reality only man by virtue of his being a member of the human race.

In the Scriptures we find "the earliest commands (to the Jews) almost entirely refer to bodily appetites and animal violence." This is, as Dr. Temple explains, the education by Law, as for children. Then follows the teaching by Example, as for youths, in the comments of the prophets, and many years later, as for manhood, the instruction by Principles or Reason which he calls the "gift of the Spirit." This law of development for the nation as for the individual, is to be found in the history of every people. The Homeric warriors were as petulant, as bloodthirsty, as unreasonable, and as excitable as school-boys. They fell to crying on every critical occasion, and even in the later representations of these heroes by Æschylus and his contem-

poraries, we find them constantly drowning the stage with tears. Indeed, Emerson has happily characterised the soldiers of Xenophon as a body of big boys. The Mediæval Crusaders (at the corresponding period of European development), have all the fire, cruelty and enthusiasm of boyhood, and our early navigators irresistibly remind us of that running-away-to-sea period of life which Tennyson has immortalised in *The Sailor Boy*, and which has formed the groundwork of many a romantic story. "A national type," says Dr. Draper—

Pursues its way physically and intellectually through changes and developments answering to those of the individual, and being represented by infancy, childhood, youth, manhood, old age and death, respectively.

On this principle he divides the corresponding successive periods observed in the History of Greece (and by a larger generalisation in that of Europe) into: 1. The Age of Credulity; 2. The Age of Inquiry; 3. The Age of Faith; 4. The Age of Reason; 5. The Age of Decrepitude. Now, if the assumption that a certain stage of the progress of the individual is characterised by a tendency to suicide be sound, it should follow (on the microcosmic and macrocosmic theory) that a similar tendency exists at a corresponding period in the intellectual growth of a nation. "Between that period," says Draper, "during which a nation has been governed by its imagination and that in which it submits to reason there is a melancholy interval." The constitution of man, he adds, is similar; and it is in this interregnum or rather strife of government that the mind of man reaches the confines of suicide. Draper's divisions are somewhat rigid, and to be taken rather as rough outlines than exact partitions; indeed, he admits that they imperceptibly merge into each other. For our purpose, as being concerned with the growth of the intellectual faculties only; life may be divided into three stages: that of youth, of growing manhood, and of the grown man. The suicidal condition is peculiar to the second of the series and it has its parallel in the ages of Inquiry, Faith, and Reason. These stages it must be remembered are often coexistent, or in somewhat altered order, but the parallelism is sufficiently close not to disturb the analogy.

We may thus pass over the earlier ages of mankind, the Stone and Bronze Periods, the reign of the fisherman and hunter, which were characterised by savagery—fetishism, cannibalism, and credulity—with the "gorgons, hydras, and chimeras dire," of a childish imagination. The Greek Age of Inquiry begins 640 B.C., with the

Ionian Philosophy of Thales, who somewhat teetotally asserted that water was the first principle. This moist monarch was soon dethroned by Anaximenes' "Queen of Air," which in turn was displaced by Heraclitus' "King of Fire." In these theories there are three well-marked crescendo stages of inventive boldness which illustrate the gradual intellectual progress; we may say that the first philosopher found his Deity on Earth, the second in Heaven, the third in Hell. The invention, however, is that of boys, and there is a curious (doubtless undesigned) parallel to these three stages of Greek fancy in Mrs. Marcet's personifications—Aquafluens, Ventosus, and Vaporifer—in her story (to be found in the Fourth Book), which has delighted so many generations of schoolboys. This puerile philosophy reaches its culmination in Pythagoras, who appears to have been in a higher class, working sums, since he reduces the scheme of the universe to a sort of "Rule of Three." The loftier stand taken by the later Eleatic Philosophers, who abandoned the study of Nature for that of the investigation of Being and of God, ended in Pantheism, and the arguments of its celebrated exponent Zeno are such as elder schoolboys delight in originating. To these succeeded Democritus, whose opinions are those of the callow young man; the pubescent ruling principles of Love and Hate are succeeded by those more heroic governors, "Destiny, Fate, and resistless Law." We have now reached the beginning of that melancholy stage which recognises with despair the feebleness of man, and except it finds an escape inevitably falls into Atheism. "There is no world, there is no god," exclaimed the nation through its secular philosopher, who might have anticipated the soliloquy of Tennyson's hero in *The Princess*—

" Myself too had weird seizures, Heaven knows what,
On a sudden in the midst of men and day,
And while I walked and talked as heretofore,
I seemed to move among a world of ghosts
And feel myself the shadow of a dream."

In the later manhood of the nation arose the vain-glorious and licentious sophists, iconoclasts, doubters of everything, who married Philosophy to Philosophy, and by a complicated system of inbreeding finally arrived at barren Nihilism. And here we have arrived at a stage similar to that in which an intellectual young gentleman, full of undigested knowledge, but of great conceit, loses reverence for his "Governor," laughs at the parson, and in quite a practical way derides all theories of morality. As the individual too in this strait

commonly finds an escape in some practical religious belief, the Greeks were inevitably impelled by the same route. With the belief of Socrates in the importance of Virtue and Morality, the Age of Faith begins, and receives its highest development in the subdivine theories of Plato, whose academic teachings reached to the sublime conceptions of a Personal God, and the Immortality of the Soul. So far-reaching and prophetic was Plato's mind, that we find in his Philosophy, not only in germ but often highly elaborated, most of the advanced so-called Modern Doctrines whose enunciation has well-nigh apotheosized the teacher. To him the 18th Century, through Bishop Berkeley, owes its Idealistic Philosophy, and long before Goethe's celebrated botanical discovery the Greek had proclaimed his Ideal Tree. Figuier's *Day after Death* with its transmigratory souls and interplanetary beings is bodily from Plato. From the fourth book of *The Republic* is borrowed the very groundplan of Bulwer's *Coming Race*; the whole work, in fact, is but a fanciful and feeble parody of Plato's *chef d'œuvre*. To this glorious mind were familiar the modern doctrines of Heredity, of Innate Ideas, of the Persistence of Matter. He was the first preacher of Communism, and his "Republic" is the parent of all the Arcadias and Utopias generated since—upon it, in fact, Auguste Comte modelled most of his Philosophy, and it may be said to form the backbone of Herbert Spencer's *Sociology*. From the Platonic conception of culminating ideas M. Renan derives his notion of the generation of God which he has worked out with so much apparent originality in the *Dialogues Philosophiques*. Curiously enough we find too in this heathen Ante-Christ the insistence on the necessity for State Education, as well as the declaration that man's superiority totally depended on his being a religious animal. How few modern truly religious men can entertain both these sentiments at once. Now, if at any time, surely man's aspirations had achieved victory, and his long-wearied longings, if not a resting-place, such a height as would give him a view of that Canaan where he might abide in peace under the protection of an everlasting God. Not so, however. Though Plato and his predecessor Socrates had great glimpses of the truth, it was with them a "casual mistress, not a wife;" at most they were "blinkard heathens stumbling for the light." The absence of the rational acknowledgment of the Reign of Law made the followers of Socrates perish in the morasses of cynicism and selfishness, and the disciples of Plato lapse into the indifferentism of Epicurus, and the contemptible scepticism of the later academies. "So ends,"

says Draper, "the Greek Age of Faith. How strikingly does it recall the corresponding period of individual life—the trusting spirit and the disappointment of youth." We thus see the second age of Greek philosophy ending in sophism, a boyish termination; the third age, in scepticism, a more adult, if not less erroneous climax. We have now suicide becoming rife. Even Plato, despite his splendid comparison of the *felo-de-se* to the soldier deserting his post, was constrained to allow suicide in "The Laws." Pyrrho, the celebrated doubter, originated the sceptical philosophy, and his tenets of our inability to arrive at a criterion of truth, and of the uncertainty of future life, are deliberate invitations to suicide. The Cynical school of the same period found its most forward exponent in Diogenes, who declared "the nearer to suicide, the nearer to virtue," and ended his life in a practical illustration of his own doctrine. The Cyrenaic school, whose members were simply voluptuaries, actually preached a doctrinal of suicide. "Life," said Hegesias, "is good only to fools; the wise regard it with indifference. Death is as desirable." In him, called Pisithanatos the Death-Counsellor, this morbid cultus reached its acme, and when his audience began to leave his lecture-room at Alexandria only to commit suicide by the dozen, Ptolemy peremptorily closed the school.

Going back for a moment, we observe that to Plato, who relied on his imagination, succeeded Aristotle with his inductive philosophy and the Age of Reason, fruitful of promise, but from political (principally Roman) influences impotent of performance. The intellectual impulse thus started, however, migrated in very fair health to Alexandria, where flourished for a time quite a constellation of such eminent men as Euclid, Archimedes, Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, &c., to whom almost the whole of nature was familiar, and who may be truly said to have anticipated the bulk of our most valuable modern discoveries. The cultivation of Nature thus enabled them to escape the Greek Age of Suicide.

Turning very briefly to Rome, we may pass, without producing tedious proofs, over its similar stages of intellectual development till we come to the era of its lusty republicanism. Every young man is a Republican; Rome in its young manhood naturally adopted that form of government, and this period is contemporaneous with the bias to suicide which was the fundus of the Stoical philosophy. Zeno, the first Stoic (a suicide himself), though a Greek, had proclaimed a philosophy which went to the very core of the Roman heart,

and when Rome was passing through her internecine perturbations found illustrious imitators in Cato, Brutus, Seneca, Thraseas, and many others, including even such noble women as Portia, Arria, Paulina. The old Polytheism was scoffed at by Cicero and his contemporaries, who, though undisguised sceptics, were afraid to publish their religious belief; and even their noblest philosopher, Epictetus, recommends suicide as a justifiable escape from the miseries of life. The very element of Stoicism to the Romans was the assertion and defence of the abstract principle of the right of man to himself and to his life, and so by implication, when he deemed fit, to suicide. This belief Seneca had made a cultus. *Mori licet, cui vivere non placet* was the Roman decree of the period. The people themselves had thus advanced suicide to the dignity of a system of polity and philosophy. By a natural lapse this defence of so dangerous an abstract principle fell into Epicureanism, which inevitably culminated in Cleopatra's Academy of Death, *co-mourants*, as a French writer happily calls them, the members of which entered into solemn bonds to die together, not in any ordinary way, but in some new and pleasant manner. Cleopatra herself, Lucretius the poet, and Petronius, were illustrious examples of this school of self-immolation. The pleasures of life had all been tasted by the jaded voluptuary; there only remained the final sensation of death, which to them meant, not the beginning of another life, but mere annihilation. Suicide alarmingly increased. It was time for the advent of some austere doctrine to put an end to this folly, and lo! Christianity came. "What is truth?" said Pilate, not so much in jest as Bacon thought, but in sad earnest. The question was not individual, but epochal, secular, national, and Christ had come to answer it.

It is evident, I hope, from this brief survey, that among the two greatest nations of the old world, at a particular period corresponding to the same epoch in the life of the individual, suicide became not only a contemplated, but an actual terminus for the unsatisfied longings of the intellect.

Turning now to the psychological development of Europe, we find the middle ages a period of arrest for Suicide. St. Augustin (a typical instance himself of the Suicidal stage), in his "City of God," strongly reprobates Suicide. Several councils of the Church determined on refusing the rites of Christian burial to the *felo de se*, and the civil law seized on his estate. Certainly the monotony of monastic life, especially among the older devotees, produced an erratic form of Suicide, called by the mediæval writers *Acedia*, but

the middle ages, as a whole, were remarkably free from Suicide, owing doubtless to the strong trusting faith in a paternal Church, and the laboriousness of life which was a hard struggle against famine, plague, and war. All the great civilisations, as Buckle remarks, have had their origins in those regions where if Nature was terrible, she was bounteous, and allowed much intellectual leisure. It is only in the places or times of such leisure that there comes that melancholy born of too much thinking, and that the struggle for existence allows us opportunity "for thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls."

With the Renaissance, and its impulse of inquiry, was revived a modified Stoicism with its inevitable attendant contemplation of Suicide. The doctrine finds its place in More's *Utopia*, and an *apologia* in Dr. Donne's *Biathanatos* (the road to death). Our life, said Montaigne, another of the apologists, depends upon another's will, our death upon our own. Among the celebrated suicides of this period may be mentioned Philip Mordaunt, Richard Smith, Charles Blount, the author of the "*Cymbalum Mundi*," who perished from despair on his own sword; Cardan, the celebrated mathematician, who died from intentional starvation; and Philip Strozzi, who departed in the true, antique Roman manner. The stoical belief in suicide was the sentiment, but not very largely the practice of the 16th century, for the reason as Heine puts it, that the cultivation of the ancient philosophy, especially the Greek, was merely superficial. The Fine Arts were the great motive powers in the Renaissance, and, to quote Heine again, there were deeper theses against the Past in the hips of the Titian Venus, than in all that the theologians wrote. The absence of suicide in the middle ages is remarkable, if we remember the unbridled passions, the love of war, the disregard of death, the dreadful cruelties which marked the period. "The wrath of our ancestors," says Walter Scott, in the first chapter of *Waverley* "was coloured *gules*, it broke forth in acts of open and sanguinary violence against the objects of its fury." The anger of a mediæval baron was so tempestuous and volcanic, that a fit of rage commonly induced instantaneous jaundice, a disease of excessive rarity from emotion in modern times, and when occurring from that cause, only after long exposure to mental distress. The fact is, that the European world was in its boyhood; it feared and revered its religious teachers, it was cultivating its biceps (like so many modern Geoffrey Delamaynes) to the neglect of its brain. The present

was too insistent to let the future trouble, and it was without that embarrassing copiousness of knowledge which cries clamorously for adjustment. A period of comparative calm (the 17th century), as was natural, succeeded this premonitory stage; to be followed, however, towards the end of the 18th century by that terrible modern suicidal melancholy, which began with Werther and has tintured *sable* all our thought since. It is at that period of a young man's life when he begins to find the questions, Whence and Whither, press for solution, that he finds a temporary escape in licentiousness; and there is a close parallel to this epoch in that promising Age of Inquiry, which began with Raleigh and the contemporary Maritime Discoveries and the gross lapse into Libertinism of the succeeding Stuart period. It would appear, indeed, that "the spacious times of great Elizabeth" were the topmost flux of a large tidal wave which had an almost proportionate reflux. "Great men," says Bacon, "are either unmarried or childless," and great periods would appear to have the same immediate issueless détermination. Rest is needed after effort, and the impulse of an era would appear to sleep till more genial circumstances conspire for its revival. It follows the so-called law of Atavism, skipping a generation or two. This belief indeed in Palingenesis finds its expression in the chemical theories, the philosophy, and even the poetry of the period. Perhaps too, to this recognition of a sort of secular hybernation we owe such legends as those of Barbarossa and the Seven Sleepers.* The Shakspearian period, judging from its *sequelæ*, was somewhat precocious, and not immediately functory of its promise—or if the start was healthy, it was too rapid for the precedent unbreathed era, and had to wait, so to say, for its second wind in an after century. Shakspeare alone of his age had sufficient psychological analysis to detect the suicidal warp in the intellectual garmenture of man. But he was nearly two centuries before his time, and we do not find anything like an exact appreciation of his weighty thought till the close of the 18th century; and to Germany belongs the credit (originated doubtless by an oblique English impulse) of initiating a Shakspearian Psychology. The complimentary legend, "*Sola Phœnix*," on the

* This Palingenesian belief has "most gloriously enshrined itself" in an epitaph beginning, "He whom heaven did call away," which Henry Morley lately found written on the fly-leaf of a copy of Milton's earlier poems, and which he ascribes to Milton. Of the two subscribed initials there is no doubt about the 'M,' but the other is by no means certainly 'J'; it might be 'A', which at once suggests Andrew Marvell, whose work the poem is more like than any other writer's of the period.

Elizabethan coins is very descriptive of her age. The immediate result of the loving study of Shakspeare's *chef d'œuvre*, *Hamlet*, was the production of *Werther* and that rage for suicide, the *Maladie du Siecle*, *Weltschmerz* or Wertherism which crossed (by the choleraic route) from Germany to England and thence soon became endemic in France.

Shakspeare had thus formulated a psychology of suicide which remained unrecognised for well nigh two centuries. Somewhat similarly had the philosophy of Descartes and the religious speculations of Spinoza suffered a more than centennial sleep. In the "Rugby" edition of *Hamlet* the Rev. Charles Moberly dwells with great emphasis on the melancholy tendency of the Elizabethan period, making special mention of Burton's curious *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

It is matter for great wonder and regret that Shakspeare did not write a *Faust*. The melancholy tone of the story made it popular in his time, and Marlowe "of the mighty line," who made a burlesque of it, was too young to have made it a psychological study. The spirit of inquiry which began in the lifetime of our great dramatist was not destined to an uninterrupted advance, owing mainly to the civil wars and the consequent attraction of the people towards politics. Indeed, the end of the eighteenth century is nearer to Shakspeare than the close of the seventeenth, and the whole era from Elizabeth to the third George must be regarded as belonging to the same intellectual period. Owing to the hardening and narrowing spirit of Puritanism, says Green (*History of the English People*), the obstinate questionings of invisible things which haunted the finer minds of the Renaissance were being stereotyped into the theological formulas of the Predestinarian. Man and man's nature, the one inexhaustible subject of interest with Shakspeare, was left by the world for the speculations of theology. The latter Latitudinarianism which denied the authority of tradition in matters of faith was the real first step to that culminating height of intellectual anarchy, whose great historical landmark is the French Revolution. The English mind during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as Leslie Stephen points out, moved along religious or political lines of thought. The Bible had supplanted Shakspeare, and Protestantism never suitable to æsthetic cultivation, became less and less a fit religion for thinkers. It was quite a common sense religion, a complacent optimism, deistic, hateful of enthusiasm, and inclining the mind to the immediate practical questions of life rather than

towards the mysterious. With Pope and Shaftesbury arose a race of shallow moralists and coffee-house essayists. Poetry became argumentative, and a new style of literature, the novel, was originated. Reason about this period became an *émigré* to France, where it found entertainment from Voltaire, Montesquieu, the Encyclopedists, and Rousseau, after which it went to Germany whence it finally reappeared in England.

Meanwhile the revival of our English ballad literature by Ritson and Percy, aided by the criticism (though verbal) of Steevens and Malone, acted like a transfusion of blood on the senescent eighteenth century. The Nibelungen Lied similarly renewed the Germanic *Æson*. The world began to sing pæans of deliverance. "The cultivation of poetry," says Stigand in his life of Heine, "is never more to be desired than at periods when from an excess of the selfish and calculating principles, the accumulation of the materials of external life exceeds the power of assimilating them to the internal laws of human nature." Such was the general condition of Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century, and at this critical period true poetry began to be cultivated, but under truly distressful conditions. The *Zeitgeist* or Time-Spirit, in awaking from its æonic lethargy, had sought in its rawer adolescence a means of cure by the physical violence of the French Revolution. But not in his hands but his head lies man's deliverance from thralldom. "The paper bullets of the brain," not the cannon of barricades, furnish the proper armoury. Shakspeare lived again. Hamlet's posthumous child was Werther.

"This was indeed," says Lewes, in his life of Goethe, "a strange epoch, the unrest was the unrest of disease, and its extravagances were morbid symptoms. In the letters, memoirs, and novels, which still remain to testify to the follies of the age, may be read a self-questioning and sentimental introspection. The social organization was out of order; a crisis evidently imminent was heralded by extravagancies in literature as elsewhere. The cause of the disease was the want of faith. In religion, in philosophy, in politics, in morals, this eighteenth century was ostentatious of its disquiet and disbelief. . . . An abandonment to impulse, a disregard of the grave remonstrances of reason and good sense distinguished the heathen epoch." It was, says Carlyle—

"The blind struggle of a soul in bondage. That high, sad, longing discontent, which was agitating every bosom, had driven Goethe almost to despair. All felt it, he alone could give it voice. Werther is but the cry of that dim rooted pain,

under which all thoughtful men of a certain age were languishing. For Werther infusing itself into the core and whole spirit of literature, gave birth to a race of sentimentalists which have raged and wailed in every part of the world."

It was, indeed, an age seized in the throes of conception with parturient mania, a generation, says M. Caro, at once enthusiastic and sceptic, metaphysical and sentimental, feeble of will, violent of passion, full of contradictions and caprice. Preceding, was Goethe's production, in the true *Sturm und Drang* style, of *Gotz von Berlichingen*, a mediæval hero, after the manner of the seven champions of Christendom. This work was as characteristic of the youthful stage of Goethe as it was of the boyhood of the era. It was the first fruit of the Romantic school. Walter Scott's earliest literary effort was a translation of it, and it was the undoubted parent of his long series of historic romances which followed. The young men of the period under its influence formed fantastic friendships, and became members of all sorts of orders of chivalry and sentiment. It was, however, only a disease of Puberty, a sentimental green sickness at best. With the era of Werther came the more dangerous malady of early national manhood. In this dread disorder, not only were the lower faculties of the understanding concerned, but faculties on the higher psychological scale and of a more spiritual order were engaged. The Greek and Roman suicidal era was sad enough, but it was the sadness of epicureanism, the melancholy rather of the body than the soul. It was the natural outcome of the *Carpe Diem* Philosophy, born of satiety, begot of pleasure, and the constant insistence on the shortness of life, coupled with the doubt of an hereafter. Christianity, as Schlegel remarks, by representing life here as a toilsome and preparatory training for the world beyond, has suffused the whole literature of Christendom with a tender and subdued, but not quite hopeless melancholy. The melancholy of early and mediæval Christendom, noticeable even in the early fathers down through Pascal and Bossuet, to Fenelon, was of a character that acted not dreamed. The *San Greal*, not the Unknowable, the Unconditioned, the Absolute, the Infinite, was its quest. Faith to them was a living thing, and had definite practical dogmas; its purgatorial waters made the ways about them cool, and by cunning incense the road to God smelt sweet in their nostrils. But in the Wertherian malady, though taking its origin in Christianity, the imagination, the will, the sensibilities, the whole psychic man is concerned. It is a melancholy, amorous of itself. It is at once under the influence of a mysticism,

which keeps it like Hamlet from action, and a vain-glorious scepticism, which, like one of those dread bodily parasites, begets issue of itself. It is, says M. Caro an unhealthy self-conscious seeking for intellectual martyrdom; it enjoys its own griefs, cherishes its own wounds, and caresses its secret sufferings. It sees and bewails the great gap between desire and fruition. It recognises the grandeur and the meanness of its faculties, and at once suffers and enjoys. The *omne ignotum* becomes perilously attractive, the soul eternally analysing, becomes impatient of obstruction, irritable, and desirous to jump the life to come. In this unhealthy pre-occupation with self, the *ego* takes on quite an alarming portentousness, and the further it inquires, the less satisfactory becomes the quest.

"The beginning of inquiry," says Carlyle, "is disease. So long as the several elements of life, all fitly adjusted, can pour forth their movement like harmonious tuned strings, it is a melody and unison." "Nature," he says elsewhere, "guides man safe on his wondrous path, not more by endowing him with vision, but at the right place with blindness."

But it was here that the blessing of blindness was denied. In this vague inquietude, this *ennui*, this *tedium vitæ*, the soul turns longingly towards the invisible, and vainly seeks, spider-like, to spin from itself a silver thread by which to mount the highest Heaven of its invention. Any faculty, especially if its inner workings be watched and recorded by the consciousness, becomes diseased, and this subjective hyper-consciousness, this stretching to the utmost the powers of thought, has for its natural complement an inability to act, and this incapacity of action issues in a powerlessness to discharge the commonest duties of life, and finally an inability to live. The soul, instead of being a part of the totality of life is seized, after fratricide of the other functions, with a thirst for the Infinite, and in its growing self-conceit would drive like Phaethon, and with a like result, the chariot of God.

Werther, with its cultus, descended from Hamlet, begot in its turn a long progeny of wailing children,

" Infants crying in the night,
Infants crying for the light."

among which *Manfred*, *Childe Harold*, the *René* of Chateaubriand, the *Raphael* of Lamartine, and the *Jacques* of Georges Sand are the most remarkable. The Mind with a perilous delight hung over the abyss of the Infinite; it had no faith to offer to the Soul, and beyond

life could only imagine undiscovered country, if indeed an existence at all. Suicide presented itself as the solution of the difficulty, ending at once the weariness of life, and leading whether into another world or into nothingness, at least to an end.

This era, beginning with Werther, has lasted with somewhat lessening intensity till now. So intense and general was the early attack that it not only coloured the thought, but profoundly affected the actions of the era. Goethe, Chateaubriand, Lamartine, and even Georges Sand, deliberately attempted suicide, and among the followers of Goethe with his Scepticism, Nihilism, and contemplation of Suicide, we find such notable names as Byron, Alfred de Musset, Leopardi, Espronceda, Ugo Foscolo, Heine, Poushkin, Lenau, Petöfi. To them the world is but grief and illusion. They all suffered keenly the "Weltschmerz" (world-pain), of which Schopenhauer is the philosopher. To Lamartine the whole universe shouted "Die," and

"The prophetic soul

Of the wide world, dreaming of things to come,"

saw in suicide the only terminus *ad quem* for life. The age in donning its *Toga Virilis* forgot not its double-edged sword, intending in all sincerity to "war with falsehood to the knife," but not unapt, if unsuccessful, to commit Roman violence on itself. The strong and triple-armed young manhood of the Age striving towards the light with great perturbations, through seas of revolutionary blood, had let loose its soul upon its sea of troubles, and by opposing sought to end them. In vain! "Canst thou," says the Scripture, "by searching find out God. Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is high as heaven; what canst thou do? Deeper than hell; what canst thou know? For He knoweth, vain man." "God," says Solomon, "hath placed the world in man's heart, yet can not man find out the work which God worketh from the beginning to the end."

Byron took up the Wertherian torch, and shamefully lit up with it the darkest crannies of human nature, seeking, not like Diogenes with his lantern an honest man, but something very different, and for a quarter of a century made Europe tearful with the woes of his sham heroes. His exile was not owing to such personal reasons as Mrs. Stowe, *et hoc genus omne*, would have us believe. The cause lay deeper. It was a protest (though to some extent unconscious) of the age through healthy-minded and conservative England, against the suicidal *cultus* of which he was the arch-priest. In him

the era beheld a bringer of fire indeed, but an element rather from below than above, and less comforting than destructive; a perverted Prometheus, chained on the frosty Caucasus of a barren Philosophy by the strength and power of law and order the *kratos* and *bia* of the classic dramatist, his liver (the ancient seat of the affections) tortured by the God-sent vulture of an unadjusted conscience.

This latest attack of epochal suicide has naturally been the most serious that the intellectual world has yet experienced, because education has become more widespread, and the knowledge of nature profounder. Men were beginning to recognise the Reign of Law through the whole animate and inanimate universe. The development of national life, the origin and growth of species, the determinate conditions regulating political progress, currency, wealth, rent, and trade, the exact order of the great geological periods, the atomic theory of chemistry, the existence of a luminiferous ether, the astronomical evolution of cosmos out of chaos, the functions of the brain were all being discovered and armed if not hampered by this accession of intellectual wealth; the thoughts of man reached higher, and went deeper, than at any previous era.

If, as I have endeavoured to establish, there are such cataclysmic periods in the growth of a nation, we should expect since I have been treating the nation as a large man, that similar moral cyclones would sweep over the adolescence of the individual and shake his intellect to its very foundations. And, inasmuch as literature is the history of human nature, we should expect to find in the drama, the novel, the poem, a conscious or unconscious chronicle of such an individual epoch. The literature, strange to say, is slender and almost altogether of a subsidiary or tributary character. Seldom, except in two or three instances (but these certainly of overpowering value), do we find the hero consciously placed by the author in a psychical predicament. These diagnostic productions can easily be counted on one's fingers; and in our own literature when we mention *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *Hamlet*, Milton's *Penseroso*, *Sartor Resartus*, Wordsworth's *Excursion*, and Tennyson's *Two Voices*, we have almost exhausted the list of writings, whose foundations are laid on the sustained recognition of a dangerous, and what the old writers would call climacteric melancholy in life. Indeed, had this recognition been at all general, this paper need not have been written, and it is beyond all measure strange that the psychologists have not yet

recognised what is perhaps, the most peculiar and interesting property of mental growth. In all the writers quoted we must remember that the protagonists are young, and it is interesting to notice how only among men so marvellously endowed, as Shakespeare, Goethe, Carlyle, Wordsworth, and Tennyson, should have existed that clear insight into the workings of the soul which may be almost called inspiration. Hamlet is so well-known that a moment's reflection will inform the reader how typical an instance of climacteric melancholy is his. When Coleridge noticing the curious combination of energy of resolve, with poverty of performance in the Danish Prince, apologetically added, "I have a good deal of the Hamlet in myself, if I may be permitted to say so," he touched the key-note of the character, but failed to strike the whole chord. We are all Hamlets, and in the recognition of this fact lies the Open Sesame to the psychological wealth of that wonderful drama. As the statue of the discobolus player is taken for zoological purposes, as the type of the physical man, so must Hamlet be regarded from an intellectual point of view as the representative of the psychical *homo*.

In the very first soliloquy we find him contemplating suicide, the ostensible cause of his melancholy being the precipitate marriage of his mother to his uncle. This is what the logicians would call an "efficient" rather than a "sufficient" reason. Royal marriages are dictated by *convenience* and other state requirements which sink the individual in the larger necessity, and Hamlet's mother appears to have waited a couple of months. The whole of the passage beginning, "I have of late, but wherefore I know not, lost all my mirth," is an exact representation of the inexplicable moodiness so characteristic of adolescence. The picture is painted in darker colours in the celebrated soliloquy after, in which he seeks like Lucretius *Tranquillitas*, like Horace *Otium*, but is deterred by an illogical terror of *post mortem* uncertainty. His mind here has reached a higher grade of doubt than in the first act, where it is the express command of God against self-slaughter that deters him.

In the first soliloquy there is an impassioned proclamation to God of the weariness of the world; indeed, the mood of Hamlet is here a truly religious one, and it is evident he is yet in that stage when an appeal to God is the most natural because accustomed method of resolving his distresses. In the second act he has learned to acknowledge the beauty and glory of the world (not now an

"unweeded garden," &c.), and the infinite potentialities of man, and here we have some glimpses of religiosity in the comparison of man to an angel and to a God. In the third act he has climbed to a still higher psychical elevation, and we breathe with difficulty the rarer metaphysical atmosphere. His dreamful, wakeful, tortured mind wants rest. His thoughts are so disturbed that he actually pictures the sleep of death as characterised by dreams, thus implying the troubled nature of his own slumbers. No fear of God now disturbs his contemplation of death. No criminality attaching to suicide is suggested. To die is to sleep—nothing more. Were we not cowards all we should not be here, and it is the mere uncertainty of the hereafter that gives us pause. God has dropped out of the question altogether. As the Greeks and Romans refined away their philosophy till they fell into scepticism and self-murder, so do we find Hamlet awfully steering betwixt the same Scylla and Charybdis. To such a pass has he come that his disregard for life finds early expression in the contemplated murder of the king, and the actual murder of Polonius, whose "guts" he "lugs in" so savagely. We may consider the first three acts of *Hamlet* as a grand psychological trilogy, and bearing in mind that each act is intended to express a different intellectual phasis, a critical examination of the play will readily make manifest this triunity of its Psychology. In the first act Hamlet is merely *ennuyé*, the thought of suicide does occur, but only secondary to the wish of being melted into nothingness, and is summarily dismissed by his faith. In the second act we see a larger melancholy, one in which the whole of Nature and Nature's high-priest—man—are concerned. He is seeking relief in Nature and his fellow-beings. In the third act he is suicidal. There is now no mention of the glories of the Cosmos; and his fellow-men are no longer semi-divinities, but oppressors, proud, faithless, insolent. Happiness is the desire of the first act. Life the *motif* of the second. Suicide the *questio vexata* of the third. Hamlet's first psychological stage is monotheistic; his second, pantheistic; his third, atheistic. In the first he was, as Dr. Temple would say, under the Reign of Law; in the next, influenced by the Son of Man; and lastly, subject to the Spirit, a bad one indeed, but only the shadow of the good. Following up the triple division of the psychological portion of the drama, we find—(1.) The time out of joint, (2) the visible cosmos chaotic, (3) the infinite unfathomable. These again corresponding to inadaptability (1) to local circumstances, (2) to the larger conditions of the substantial universe,

(3) to eternity. In the first act he is seeking the Good—"It is not and it cannot come to good"), in the second the Beautiful ("The beauty of the world"), in the third the True; and his failures result in (1) disappointment, (2) sadness, (3) death-desiring pain. The heart ("But break, my heart") is the theatre of his first emotions, the head ("apprehension," "reason," "faculty") the locus of the second, the soul ("The will") the grander arena of the third. Such is a brief outline of the stirrings of Hamlet's soul in his vain search to read the enigma of life. His failure was inevitable and pronounced; indeed, the whole tone of his philosophy quite anticipates that Pessimism which has now become so fashionable a doctrine through Schopenhauer and his disciple Hartmann. That mysterious question which puzzled what Shakspeare, curiously enough, called "the will" is the same question looked at in the same unhopeful light by Schopenhauer, whose *Deus ex machina* he too calls "the will;" Shakspeare thus supplying the very key-word of the philosophy. That Hamlet was, in the dramatist's own opinion, his *chef d'œuvre* is evident from the loving care with which he touched and altered it so often. The *rationale* of Hamlet's psychological faith insisted on here will be more readily acceptable, if we remember that though Shakspeare quite unustally indicates Hamlet's age when the play opens to be exactly thirty, it is evident from various passages referring to him as quite a youth that the original conception embraced the introduction of such a youth whose intellectual progress would be carefully developed. Shakspeare has left us the stages of psychology, but has sacrificed for the action of the drama the undoubted periods of age on which the very framework of the play is laid. In this connection I may quote a valuable passage from Dr. Maudsley's essay on *Hamlet* in the *Westminster Review* (June, 1865):—"He who is passionately impulsive and has no hesitation at 18 is perhaps reflective and doubtful at 25, and in a few years more he may, if he develope rightly, be deliberately resolute." Of the means offered to Hamlet for his cure we must speak hereafter. Of all writers, however, ancient or modern, who have interested themselves in the psychology of man there is none who has had a clearer insight into the complex forces determining character than Carlyle. His *Sartor Resartus* is the only work in English prose which has given an exact account not only of the dreadful maelstroms which ever threaten to engulf the nearly-grown soul, but of the means of escape. After his love disappointment Teufelsdröckh, the hero, then in his twentieth year, takes to travel,

an occupation which we shall afterwards find as mediately, if not immediately, curative.

"A nameless Unrest," he says, "urged me forward, to which the outward motion was some momentary lying solace. Whither shall I go? My Loadstars were blotted out; in that canopy of grim fire shone no star. Yet forward must I; the ground burnt under me; there was no rest for the sole of my foot, I was alone, alone! Ever too, the strong inward longing shaped Phantasms for himself: towards these, one after the other, must I fruitlessly wander. A feeling I had that for my fever-thirst, there was and must be somewhere, a healing Fountain. To many fondly imagined Fountains, the Saints' Wells of these days did I pilgrim; to great Men, to great Cities, to great Events; but found there no healing. In strange countries as in the well-known; in savage deserts as in the press of corrupt civilization it was ever the same; how could your Wanderer escape from *his own shadow*? Nevertheless, still forward! I felt as if in great haste to do I saw not what. From the depths of my own heart it called to me Forwards! The winds and the streams, and all nature sounded to me Forwards; *Ach Gott*, I was even once for all, a Son of Time."

He is, however, triply armed with one truth which is finally very potent for his recovery. It is as he expresses it:—

"The end of man is an action, and not a thought, though it were the noblest."

Again, we find,

"In these sick days when the Born of Heaven first describes himself (about the age of twenty) in a world such as ours richer than usual in two things, in Truths grown obsolete, and Trades grown obsolete, what can the fool think but that it is all a Den of Lies wherein whoso will not speak lies and act lies must stand idle and despair?"

The hero has now arrived at that stage called by Carlyle the "Everlasting No," or the Suicidal Stage of Existence.

"Such transitions are ever full of pain; thus the eagle when he moults is sickly and to attain his new beak, must harshly dash off the old one upon rocks. Doubt had darkened into Unbelief. The speculative Mystery of Life grew evermore mysterious to me. Neither in the practical mystery had I made the slightest progress, but had been everywhere buffeted, foiled, and contemptuously cast out. A feeble unit in the middle of a threatening Infinitude I seemed to have nothing given me but eyes whereby to discern my own wretchedness. Visible yet impenetrable walls divided me from all living."

"From suicide a certain aftershine of Christianity withheld me, perhaps also, a certain indolence of character."

Teufelsdröckh now finds himself in a Centre of Indifference, "through which, whoso travels from the Negative to the Positive Pole, must necessarily pass." He has a strong feeling of Indignation

and Defiance to things in general, all of which healthily ends in the Discovery of Rest in the "Everlasting Yea."

Of all our English authors Scott's lapse from the Psychology adumbrated in the early chapters of *Waverley* is most to be regretted. The very name "Waverley," although Scott (*vide* the Introductory Chapter) appears to be unconscious of it, is suggestive of mental disquietude, and there is little doubt that he intended the novel in its first draft to be a psychological study. He actually disclaims in the opening chapter the Romanticism which afterwards became the element of the finished work. So far had Scott dismissed the original intention from his mind that he states that the earlier part (thrust aside for years in a forgotten drawer) was written up to the 7th instead of the 6th chapter, where it is obvious the psychological framework is suddenly deserted for the romantic. *Waverley* was begun when Scott had completed his 35th year, and had become a sound-minded man, but the whole tone of the earlier chapters strongly suggest that the author had just passed successfully through a phase of serious mental perturbation. The original *Waverley* was Scott himself; the youthful illness with its attendant opportunities for discursive reading, the English and foreign authors studied, the whole bent, in fact, of the hero's mind are mere autobiographical reminiscences of the writer. But the age, as Carlyle puts it, "had fallen into spiritual languor, destitute of belief yet terrified at scepticism, reduced to live a stunted half-life under strange new circumstances. Now, vigorous whole-life was what of all things Scott's delineations offered." The public would have none of his psychology (the age was behind the individual), it wanted amusement. When Scott, some nine years afterwards finished *Waverley* for publication, although he had apparently forgotten (he was too removed from his suicidal period) his original intention, he felt constrained to leave the original introductory chapters, although the critics censured them as "tedious and unnecessary." "Yet there are circumstances," he says "recorded in them which the author has not been able to persuade himself to retract or cancel." They are, in fact, the most valuable, because the truest, of all Scott's writings; and only for that fatal facility with which he worked in compliance with the demand for titillating literature, Scott might have left us a series of prose *Hamlets*, *Romeos*, and *Lears*, instead of descriptive sets of Gothic furniture and romantic manners and customs. Carlyle, after praising *Waverley*, adds with profound truth, "Something very perfect in its kind might have come from Scott—nor was

it a low kind. Nay, who knows how high with studious self-concentration he might have gone?" In fact, Scott's mind, impelled after his translation of Goethe's *Gotz* to write his lays of Chivalry, had by a natural growth, like that of his literary ancestor, arrived at that higher stage which is represented in the German by Werther, and promised in the Scot by Waverley. The loss to our literature is irreparable. No novelist since has had the insight to paint the growth of a human mind, painfully struggling to adjust itself to the mysterious problems of the Universe. Disraeli, indeed, in the preface to *Contarini Fleming* has laid a theatrical hand upon the situation, but quite fails to fulfil the promise of his prologue. He speaks "of the melancholy and brooding childhood, the growing consciousness of power, the reveries, the loneliness, the doubts, the moody mystery, the ignorance of art, the failures, the despair." In the eighth chapter of this "Psychological Romance," we find the hero "speculating on his own nature," and in the ninth, he declares existence intolerable, and that he would have killed himself had he not been supported by his ambition. In the twelfth chapter he suddenly becomes a Catholic. A fatal objection to the value of all this, is that it occurs when the hero is quite a boy; the psychological stages, besides being confused, are altogether too early, and the sentiment is quite childish and insincere; indeed, the author consciously confesses to failure when he has to call in the aid of animal magnetism to explain the very crisis in his hero's life. This is an evasion of his work, not honest finish. In Bulwer we get glimpses of a psychologic stage in the younger years of his heroes, and there are passages in *Zanoni*, especially where the terrible *Dweller on the Threshold* appears, which indicates some sympathy with the dreadful ordeal awaiting the developing man. Not, however, till the end of his life had Bulwer adjusted his Psychologies. He evades his difficulties too by the *Deus ex Machina* of animal magnetism, and none of his novels excepting *Kenelm Chillingly* (written shortly before death) are of any value in picturing the growth of an intellect. *Kenelm Chillingly* for my purpose is of much value; whoever reads it with care will find throughout the whole book vivid, although oblique illustrations of the theory of this paper. The world was wide, was wide!—but all too little for his soul's content. But Bulwer, as Harriet Martineau recognised, was a woman in trousers, and preferred the scent of civet to the odour of the hawthorn blossom. If he suspected that Life was a mere seeing through a glass darkly, he

looked at it not through the "Mirror of Nature," but the pier-glass of the drawingroom. Among our present novelists George Eliot alone possesses sufficient penetration and insight to attempt psychical analysis. She has, however, the misfortune to belong to a sex in which the growth of the intellect is undisturbed, because of quite secondary physiological importance. Women are without a suicidal stage of existence, and we can never expect from the keenest feminine intellect other than a second-hand picture of the cataclysmic period of male intellectual disturbance. But only in *Daniel Deronda* do we find any hint of a developmental psychology, and the critics refer this no doubt correctly to her association with G. H. Lewes. *Deronda*, as a German critic has remarked, was written from a deductive standpoint, and we would have expected a hero in the grander framework of an *à priori* creation to have shown greater intellectual perturbations. We certainly find in chap. xvii. "Not that he was in a sentimental stage" (he really was for all that, as the author would have known were she a man), "but he was in another sort of contemplative mood, perhaps more common in young men of our day—that of questioning whether it were worth while to take part in the battle of the world." Our author is here evidently on the right track, but in her very next sentence she shows her inappreciativeness of the situation by finding in her hero's income a satisfactory explanation.

The psychological novel remains to be written. It is not a woman's work, and by no means any man's; but his, whose soul by a healthful progression has developed from its pupillary and chrysalis stages up to that perfect "Imago," which is the likeness of its God.

And here it is time to breathe. I purpose in another paper to find in the biographical and auto-biographical records of actual individuals unmistakable evidences of the presence of a suicidal stage of existence, and to account satisfactorily for its absence in all women, and in some men. We shall have to discuss the true and false means of cure, the successful and unsuccessful methods of escape, the effects of race, education, work, climate, and physique, of travel (especially to another hemisphere), of love, of marriage, of friendships, human and animal; of art, of exercise, of music, and above all of religion. As Fichte used to boast of creating God, and M. Renan now insists that reason "will organise God," we may, perhaps, with more modesty and confidence attempt the construction of a typical man.

P. MOLONEY.

BRET HARTE IN RELATION TO MODERN FICTION.

WITHIN the last ten years a young Californian writer has gained a European reputation by a few short tales and some verses in dialect. This is no over-statement of Bret Harte's fame. In the *Revue de deux Mondes* translations of his later stories have appeared, as well as a singularly able and appreciative criticism of his recent novel, *Gabriel Conroy*; and the *Revue* is the recognised medium of literary introduction to the Continent of Europe. Freiligrath too, the popular German poet, has translated several of Bret Harte's stories, saying of his insight into human nature:—"This it is which drew hearts to him wherever the language of Shakspeare, of Milton, and Byron, is spoken. And this it is which has made me, the old German poet, the translator of the young American colleague, and which has led me to-day to reach to him, warmly and cordially, my hand across the sea. Good luck, Bret Harte! Good luck, my gold-digger!" What is the secret of this sudden and brilliant success, and how is it that in an age of three volume novels, the writer of a few brief sketches is thus spoken of? Simply this, that Bret Harte has described certain phases of American social life, and the types of character peculiar to it, so truly and vividly, that he stands out from amongst the host of contemporary novelists as a man of original ability—or what we vaguely term genius. For the creative artist is he who can dramatically depict the aspects of a society, and the characteristics and peculiarities of its typical individuals. This is the end and aim of fiction, and constitutes its real value. To anyone wishing to understand the social condition of England in the last century, *Tom Jones*, 'that exquisite picture of human manners,' is worth a library of erudite histories. And would not an old Greek novel, however mediocre in point of literary merit—even an Hellenic Anthony Trollope—be priceless to those who are curious to know how men then lived their daily lives?

In Bret Harte's Californian sketches he presents a series of life-like pictures of the time when the gold-fever was at its height, and when miners, gamblers, and desperadoes flourished side by side with a vigorous and salutary lynch law. Rough and reckless, coarse in garb and speech, and with but a faint notion of the sacredness of life, these men would seem strange subjects for the

romancer. But it is only because our faculties are dull, or that we are given too much to mere dreaming that we do not feel the poetry of daily existence. Underlying all the vulgarity, and mingled with the strife and turmoil of those engaged in 'the fierce race for wealth,' were feelings of kindness and brotherhood, and those social affections which are the common patrimony of civilised men. These are the touches of nature which make the whole world kin, and are making our author's name a household word.

In a rude state of society, such as Bret Harte describes, men are thrilled by acts of self-sacrifice, because of their daily risks to life and limb. By the unexpected falling of a shaft, or tunnel, by a flood, or snowstorm, a man in the prime of life may be stricken down dead, or maimed for the rest of his days,—'His chance to-day, it may be thine to-morrow.' And there can be no organised provision against calamity, no widows' and orphans' fund, no benefit or assurance societies, so that by one fell stroke wife and children may be left unprotected and houseless creatures. Can it be wondered at, that in such a community, he who risks his own life to avert greater miseries from others is regarded as a hero, however unheroic in speech or appearance? With what a master-hand Bret Harte touches this fine chord in such verses as *In the Tunnel*.

Or take the story of *Tennessee's Partner*. How graphic is the account of the former marital relations of the two men—a quite unique basis of friendship. Subsequently we are told that Tennessee 'lays for a stranger, and fetches that stranger,' and is tried by lynch law for the outrage, his captor being also his judge. In the midst of the judicial proceedings, Tennessee's Partner slouches in, and makes an undignified, but noble attempt to bribe the tribunal—

"Here's seventeen hundred dollars in coarse gold and a watch—it's about all my pile—and call it square."

But—

"The unparalleled insult of a bribe offered to Judge Lynch—who whether bigoted, weak, or narrow, was at least incorruptible—firmly fixed in the mind of that mythical personage, any wavering determination of Tennessee's fate; and at the break of day he was marched closely guarded to meet it at the top of Marley's-hill."

Tennessee's Partner having begged the body of 'the diseased, if it was all the same to the committee,' invited those present to join the funeral procession, which they did at first half-jestingly:—

"But whether from the narrowing of the road, or some present sense of

decorum, as the cart passed on the company fell to the rear in couples, keeping step and otherwise assuming the external show of a funeral procession."

"The cart was halted before the enclosure; and rejecting the offers of assistance with the same serious air of self-reliance he had displayed throughout, Tennessee's Partner lifted the rough coffin on his back and deposited it unaided within the shallow grave. He then nailed down the board which served as a lid; and mounting the little mound of earth beside it, took off his hat and slowly mopped his face with his handkerchief. This the crowd felt was a preliminary to speech, and they disposed themselves variously on stumps and boulders, and sat expectant."

"When a man," began Tennessee's Partner slowly, "has been running free all day, what's the natural thing for him to do? Why, to come home. And if he ain't in a condition to go home, what can his best friend do? Why, bring him home. And, here's Tennessee has been running free, and we brings him home from his wandering." He paused, and picked up a fragment of quartz, rubbed it thoughtfully on his sleeve, and went on: "It ain't the first time that I've packed him on my back, as you seed me now. It ain't the first time that I've brought him to this yer cabin when he couldn't help himself; it ain't the first time that I and 'Jinny' have waited for him on yon hill, and picked him up and so fetched him home, when he couldn't speak and didn't know me. And now that it's the last time, why—" he paused, and rubbed the quartz gently on his sleeve—"you see it's sort of rough on his pardner."

There is something inexpressibly touching in this description of the rough uncouth miner fetching his mate home 'for the last time;' and how life-like and dramatic is the whole scene. If there were any process of extracting the essence of books, how many of our ordinary three-volume novels would it take to produce one such episode as this?

That is a subtle trait of character, too, in the dialect poem *Jim*. A man of intense egotism may produce burning epics replete with wailings for mankind, or may shine as a social reformer or peripatetic philanthropist, but he will not do an act of real self-sacrifice. It is the man who underrates himself, who thinks himself of no account, so to speak, who will render help in the hour of danger. Such a man hearing of the death of his friend might soliloquise thus:—

"Dead!
 Poor—little—Jim.
 — Why thar was me,
 Jones and Bob Lee,
 Harry and Ben,—
 No-account men:—
 Then to take him!"

In almost all of Bret Harte's stories the *dramatis personæ*

have the distinct individuality of personal friends. They are dramatic creations. This creative faculty is extremely rare, and the possession of it entitles a writer to prominent rank. It is the result of a fine imagination, *plus* keen observation and personal experience of the world; and Shakespeare is perhaps the only instance in literature of this combination on a grand scale. His characters are known to us, simply by their own words and deeds, for the dramatist is not permitted to speak in his own person. Yet how well we know Hamlet, Mercutio, Falstaff, Dogberry, Justice Shallow, and the thousand-and-one other, people of the great Shakespeare-world. And when we consider how real men and women live and die and are no more heard of, it would almost seem as if these imaginary beings were the realities, we but the shadows. Among English novelists, none has possessed the dramatic faculty to so great a degree as Charles Dickens. We all know his artistic shortcomings;—his inability to idealise, which makes his work always prosaic; his antipathy to the upper classes, and consequent inability to depict aristocratic types of character; his tendency to bathos and to caricature—all these have been frequently commented upon. But he has created a world of imaginary beings, only second in our literature to that of Shakespeare. Compared with these master-spirits, Bret Harte works within a narrow range, but on every page we may see the hand of the creative artist. His power of depicting life-like characters in a story of but a few pages is marvellous. All that is said of or by each of the *dramatis personæ*, is comprised in a few sentences, and yet if we are once introduced to Mr. Jack Hamlin, Mr. John Oakhurst, Tennessee and his Partner, Mliss, Yuba Bill, and Colonel Starbottle, we can never forget them. Our notion of Yuba Bill, for instance, is derived mainly from one incidental allusion to that worthy in the story of *Brown of Calaveras*. It is where Mr. Hamlin assists the lady passenger out when the stage drew up at the International Hotel for dinner:—

“The legal gentleman and a Member of Congress leaped out and stood ready to assist the descending goddess, while Colonel Starbottle, of Siskiyou, took charge of her parasol and shawl. In this multiplicity of attention there was a momentary confusion and delay. Jack Hamlin quietly opened the *opposite* door of the coach, took the lady's hand—with that decision and positiveness which a hesitating and undecided sex know how to admire—and in an instant had dexterously and gracefully swung her to the ground, and again lifted her to the platform. An audible chuckle on the box, I fear, came from that other cynic ‘Yuba Bill,’ the driver. ‘Look keerfully arter that baggage

kernel,' said the expressman with affected concern as he looked after Colonel Starbottle, gloomily bringing up the rear of the triumphant procession to the waiting-room."

Last year, Mr. Harte's first novel, *Gabriel Conroy*, appeared, and, although a thoroughly characteristic work, full of dramatic incident and dialogue, with a fine vigorous humour, vivid descriptions, and true local colour, it is not popular. It has been criticised as faulty in construction—and Mr. Harte is not the most skilful of literary carpenters and joiners—but this is not sufficient to account for its comparative failure. We must go deeper if we would find out why *Gabriel Conroy* is not in demand at the circulating libraries.

It will be at once conceded that Bret Harte is a thoroughly masculine writer, one who sees everything from a man's point of view, and pays but scant regard to the other sex. This may have arisen from the fact that the society he describes, and with which he is so familiar, was almost exclusively composed of men. Women were at a high premium, and the few who did venture among the residents of Roaring Camp or Poker Flat, were assuredly the least feminine of their sex. When Gabriel Conroy married Madame Devarges (or rather was married by her) after saving her life from the overflowing of the dam, what was the public opinion of One Horse Gulch on the subject?

"His very brief courtship did not excite any surprise in a climate where the harvest so promptly followed the sowing, and the fact now generally known that it was he who saved the woman's life, after the breaking of the dam at Black Cañon was accepted as a sufficient reason for his success in that courtship. It may be remarked here that a certain grim disbelief in feminine coyness obtained at One Horse Gulch. That the conditions of life there were as near the perfect and original condition of mankind as could be found anywhere, and that the hollow shams of society and weak artifices of conventionalism could not exist in that sincere atmosphere were two beliefs that One Horse Gulch never doubted.

"Possibly there was also some little envy of Gabriel's success, an envy not based upon any evidence of his superior courage, skill, or strength, but only of the peculiar 'luck,' opportunity, or providence, that had enabled him to turn certain qualities very common to One Horse Gulch to such favorable account.

"'Toe think,' said Joe Briggs, 'that I was allowin'—only that very afternoon—to go up that cañon after game, and didn't go from some derved foolishness or other—and yer's Gabe heving' no call to go thar, jest comes along accidental like, and dern my skin! but he strikes onto a purty girl and a wife the first lick!'

" 'That's so,' responded Barker; 'it's all luck. Thar's that Cy Dudley with plenty o' money and wantin' a wife bad, and ez is going to Sacramento to-morrow to prospect for one, and he hez been up and down that cañon time outer mind, and no dam ever said 'break' to him. No, sir; or take my own case; on'y last week when the Fiddletown Coach went over the bank at Dry Creek, wasn't I the first man thar ez cut the leader adrift, and bruk open the coach door and helped out the passengers, and wot passengers—six Chinyemen by Jinks—and a Greaser. That's my luck!'"

Can the power of dramatic dialogue go further than this? How vividly is brought before us the fact that at One Horse Gulch women's visits were few and far between, and that consequently every man was ready to marry any woman whom Fate might bring into the immediate neighbourhood. It may be remarked that Madame Devarges was not young, nor (but this no doubt was regarded as a trifle) was her reputation unsoiled.

Wherever we open Bret Harte's writings it is the same: he writes for the most part about men, and always from a man's point of view.

But Modern Fiction even to a greater extent than Modern Christianity, is in the hands of women; for not only are the majority ministered to of that sex, but also those who minister. Novel-writing as well as novel-reading is becoming a feminine occupation. Doubtless there are still numbers of male novelists, but they are most powerfully influenced by what Mr. Spencer would call 'their environment.' They address an audience mainly composed of women, and consciously or unconsciously, they recogn'ise, that to be successful they must depict the feminine aspects of life. To judge by the novels of the day, human beings do nothing but attempt to gratify that passion which Byron tells us—'Is of man's life a thing apart, but woman's whole existence.' In virtuous works of fiction, young men are perpetually making love to unmarried women, and in those of a vicious tendency to married ones. The monotony is relieved by incidental bursts of jealousy or revenge, and from start to finish there is a sickly sentimentality, and a rush of improbable incidents; and the creatures who thus demean themselves are, according to the popular novelist, 'the possessors of that large discourse of reason, looking before and after.' Naturally this conception of life is best dealt with by women; and in the enormous popularity of Miss Braddon, Mrs. Henry Wood, Ouida, Miss Rhoda Broughton, and Miss Muloch, we have one of the most striking literary signs of the times.

The growing tendency to open all avocations to women is doubt-

less an indication of social progress ; and there are many excellent reasons why women of culture should choose a literary life. But assuredly they are quite unfit to control any branch of literature or art, and wherever they do, there will be decadence. Of the heaps of novels published every season—written mainly by and almost exclusively for women—how many are worthy to be designated literary works ? Compare any of them to the works of the ‘old masters’—say to those of Sir Walter Scott, whom it is the fashion to depreciate—and the lamentable falling-off in all that constitutes artistic fiction will be only too apparent.

It has frequently been said that woman’s influence on the novel has been simply a purifying and elevating one ; and the coarseness of Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne has been freely and foolishly commented upon. No doubt the increased social refinement of our times has been to a great extent caused by women participating in the labours and pastimes of men, and this refinement is very properly and naturally reflected in our works of fiction. But Scott, who wrote before the influence of women became dominant, is as free from impurity as any novelist of the present day. Besides it is not woman’s influence that is objectionable ; she is an important factor in the scheme of things, and should have her say in the matter of light literature, as in other human concerns. The evil consists in her domination. For novels are the Drama of the nineteenth century, and should hold the mirror up to human nature ; and how can this be done by the sex which is kept as ignorant of human nature as possible ? It is true that men have only themselves to blame for this deplorable state of things. They have in a great measure imposed upon women a different moral code to that which they themselves recognise, and have kept from them the knowledge of many prominent facts of social life, and secluded them from the healthful influences of actual contact with the world. They have attempted to base female ethics upon ignorance. Like all evil-doing it has turned out unprofitable to the evil-doers ; and men in their anxiety to limit women in the attainment of knowledge and the expression of opinion have most narrowly circumscribed themselves. What a striking illustration of this fact is afforded by our effeminate novels.

Thackeray observes—“ Since the author of *Tom Jones* was buried, no writer of fiction among us has been permitted to depict to his utmost powers *a man*. We must drape him and give him a certain conventional simper. Society will not tolerate the natural in our art.”

And Dickens retorted in his boisterous way on certain critics who complained of the unnaturalness of his youthful heroes:—"O! my smooth friend, what a shining imposter you must think yourself, and what an ass you must think me, when you suppose that by putting a brazen face upon it you can blot out of my knowledge the fact that this same unnatural young gentleman (if to be decent is to be necessarily unnatural), whom you meet in those other books and in mine, *must be* presented to you in that unnatural aspect, by reason of your morality, and is not to have, I will not say, any of the indecencies you like, but not even any of the experiences, trials, perplexities, and confusions, inseparable from the making and unmaking of a man."

Probably neither of these eminent men suspected (for they troubled themselves but little with problems of causation) that the undue influence of women was the proximate cause of their intellectual bondage. It may here be remarked that if a modern novelist were permitted 'to depict to his utmost powers *a man*,' the result would not necessarily resemble Tom Jones, for it may be assumed that in reality, as well as in fiction, we are more refined than our forefathers. But if a competent writer dared to narrate 'the experiences, trials, perplexities, and confusions inseparable from the making and unmaking of a man,' the character embodying these would certainly differ widely from the sentimental young gentlemen in our three volume novels. As types of human beings, the youthful heroes in Dickens and Thackeray are little better than those of the lady novelists. Compare such a character as Eugene Rastignac in *Le Père Goriot*, with David Copperfield or Arthur Pendennis, and after making due allowance for the difference between the morals of French society and our own, one can but feel the artistic superiority and truthfulness of Balzac. And nothing can more vividly show the evil of our conventional restrictions on art than the fact that these two great novelists, who were so competent to depict English life and character, were conscious that they were not permitted to freely exercise their talents. Luckily for the world, they had free scope in many directions, for they wrote chiefly for the gratification of men. But they are the last of the great masculine novelists in England,* and the

* The novels of Black, Hardy, and Blackmore display great literary ability, especially in the descriptive passages; but they are all sentimental and feminine in tone. Notwithstanding this, such a book as *The Princess of Thule* is quite a work of art, a genuine prose idyll, with true dramatic characterization.

growing tendency is to produce works of fiction of a quite opposite character.

Moreover, the widespread notion of the moral purity of one sex as compared with the other, is a fallacy which will not bear the slightest investigation. Ignorance of the true meaning and actual consequences of vice is directly conducive to pruriency, such as we see in the erotic tinsel of Ouida and the fleshly vulgarities of Miss Rhoda Broughton, two of our most popular lady novelists. The chief characteristic of female fiction, be it virtuous or vicious, is its unreality; and it would be hard to decide who is the more unreal, the prim and excellent Miss Muloch or the fast and extravagant Mdlle. de la Ramée.

The scope of woman's thought and speculation is necessarily less than man's; at the outset her brain power is less, her opportunities of observing mankind are less, and she mixes but little in the affairs of the world. The result is that her views of life are distorted, and her dramatic power is dormant. Hence few true women like Dickens or Thackeray (except where they are morbid and unreal), Scott, or Fielding, or really appreciate any of Shakespeare's plays, except *Romeo and Juliet*.

"Ah," said an intelligent gentleman who presides at one of our libraries—"this opening chapter of *Gabriel Conroy* describing those people snowed up in the sierras is most wonderfully vivid. But it's lost on most readers—ladies, you know, simply skip it." Little wonder that Mr. Harte's novel is not a success.

One of the finest scenes in *Gabriel Conroy* is the death of Jack Hamlin in the Rancho of the Blessed Fisherman: but it must appear tame and commonplace to the ordinary novel reader. There is no sentimental accompaniment in rhythmic prose about the golden sunsets and the sayings of the wild waves, no ethical jargon concerning the deep hidden mystery of life and the far-off results of conduct. Nothing but a life-like picture of the dying scamp, speaking to the doctor now of his black hound and solitaire ring, and now of 'how he'd fooled Pete, confessing religion to him':—

"The old man," he said explanatory, "has been preachin' mighty heavy at me since the t'other doctor came, and I reckoned it might please him to allow that everything he said was so. You an' the old man's bin right soft on me, and between us, doctor, I ain't much to give him in exchange. It's no square game."

"Then you believe you're going to die?" said the doctor, gravely.
 "I reckon."

* * * *

"Pete," he said, gravely, "I want Pete—no one else."

The old negro entered with a trembling step. And then catching sight of the white face on the pillow, he uttered one cry—a cry replete with all the hysterical pathos of his race—and ran and dropped on his knees beside it. And then the black and the white face were near together, and both were wet with tears.

Dr. Duchesne stepped forward, and would have laid his hand gently upon the old servant's shoulder, but he stopped, for suddenly both of the black hands were lifted wildly in the air, and the black face with rapt eyeballs turned towards the ceiling as if they had caught sight of the steadfast blue beyond. Perhaps they had.

"O de Lord God! whose prechis blood washes de brack sheep and de white sheep all de one color. O de Lamb of God! save, save dis por', dis por' boy. O Lord God, for *my* sake. O de Lord God! Dow knowest fo' twenty years Pete, old Pete, has walked in dy ways—has found de Lord and Him crucified—and has been dy servant. O de Lord God, de bressed Lord, ef it's all de same to you, let all dat go fo' nowt. Let old Pete go and send down dy mercy and forgiveness for *him*."

This is all—no extraneous sentiment or moralising, no attempt of any kind 'to improve the occasion.' True these things are also wanting in Mrs. Quickly's immortal description of Falstaff's death; but Shakespeare may be forgiven, for he is our great Elizabethan dramatist and lived before this age of artistic enlightenment. Mr. Harte can plead no such excuse for his shortcomings.

Many will think that George Eliot's writings are a complete refutation of the views here advanced on modern novels and female novelists. That she has gained a great reputation, and appeals more directly to the cultured classes of English society than any imaginative writer of the day, except perhaps Tennyson, cannot be gainsaid. And it is always hazardous to criticise in any way adversely a writer of established fame. For Literature becomes credal, and to the worshippers at the shrine it seems an act of impiety not to bend the knee. M. Scherer, an accomplished French critic, keenly appreciative of the grand passages in Milton's longest poem, sums up his general impression of it thus:—"Paradise Lost' is a false poem, a grotesque poem, a tiresome poem; there is not one reader out of a hundred who can read the ninth and tenth books without smiling, or the eleventh and twelfth without yawning." Do not these

words sound as harsh to us as a pronounced disbelief in Biblical inspiration ?*

George Eliot has already attained almost a classical reputation, and one can hardly venture to speak of her writings but in terms of indiscriminate adulation. Instead of assisting to swell this chorus of acclamation, let us briefly investigate its causes. To do this satisfactorily, however, one must be permitted to speak freely.

George Eliot preaches conventional morality in an unconventional way. The sanctity of obligations, and especially of the marriage tie, is the ethical keynote of all her writings. Unlike Georges Sand she is always respectable. No father of a family need fear to place *Romola* or *Adam Bede* in the hands of his wife or daughter. At the same time her writings smack of philosophy, and it is always gratifying to commonplace people of well-ordered lives to find that wisdom is not with the anarchist. Furthermore George Eliot deals more comprehensively than any other novelist with the various phases of Protestant piety. This, which may have arisen from her birth and early associations, is one of the most remarkable features of her writings, and must have largely contributed to their success. By that large and important section of the British public which worships in dissenting chapels, Charles Dickens was never forgiven for such caricatures as the Rev. Mr. Stiggins and Mr. Chadband. Even now, clergymen at intervals feel impelled to denounce him as a scoffer and an author unfit for the rising generation, although Dickens was essentially a religious man ; while George Eliot, who is known to be a philosophical unbeliever, is the idol of the vestry. The reason is not far to seek. Glance for a moment at the long array of parsons in her spacious gallery ; with what a kindly hand they are depicted, and what an intimate knowledge of clerical life is shown. In the Rev. Rufus Lyon we have the model dissenter, while the Rev. Mr. Fairbrother and the Rev. Mr. Irwine represent the genial wordly-minded tolerant churchman, and the Rev. Mr. Tryan the earnest evangelical. What a variety of types compared with Parson Adams and Dr. Primrose ! Mr. Trollope also deals in parsons, but he describes only external traits, and has no insight into what is termed the 'inner life ;' and as clergymen are men of

* A recent writer in the *Quarterly Review* quoted M. Scherer's views on Milton with approval. But this may be merely the result of Tory bias against the great Republican poet, and in any case the English critic put forward his own views very timidly. Nonconformity to our inherited literary judgments constitutes the charm and value of M. Taine's *History of English Literature*, which may be compared to a treatise on a religious creed by an intelligent and tolerant member of an alien faith.

introspection rather than of action, his clerical characters are eminently prosy and uninteresting. George Eliot, on the contrary, is a subjective writer who fully enters into the religious aspirations and emotional nature of Dinah Morris, and Silas Marner the Weaver of Raveloe, types of character peculiarly attractive to earnest Protestants of every sect. Is not Savonarola, too, an historical personage of abiding interest to a reformed community?

In brief, George Eliot is the novelist of Protestant piety. And is it not clear that with thousands of earnest well-meaning people her popularity is mainly due to her conformity to conventional ethics, and her sympathy with current phases of faith? But this does not entitle her to rank with the great masters of fiction. In her novels, it is true, we everywhere see the signs of culture and reflection, but her delineation of character and her conception of life are feminine. She has no humour, and humour is an essential of dramatic art. The humorist is not to be confounded with the mere jester or buffoon. He is one whose wide apprehension of the congruities of life is accompanied by a keen sense of its incongruities. Like Shakespeare he may comprehend Lear and Hamlet, as well as Falstaff and Ancient Pistol; or, like Molière, he is called by his chattering friends "Le Contemplateur." To him life is no light farce; only as he regards his fellow-creatures—their exits and their entrances, their joys and sorrows, their daily avocations and idle aspirations, their transparent knavery and honest bungling, their limited reason and blind passions—the strange eventful history appears sometimes tragic and as often ludicrous. George Eliot's view of life is totally opposed to this. She describes an imaginary world where men and women do nothing but obey or violate certain moral precepts, and she solemnly enters the lists, and does battle for the good; and all the while in the world of reality the rain is falling on the just and the unjust, and nobody heeds her kindly platitudes. She is a profoundly serious writer, and looks at life from the standpoint of the preacher, not of the dramatist. Doubtless she indulges at times in a sort of acid wit which her admirers mistake for humour, but who ever laughed at any character or incident of her invention? No one with a keen sense of humour—none of the great masculine novelists—could have written *Middlemarch* or *Daniel Deronda*. The marriage of Dorothea and Causabon, for instance, would have appeared so irresistibly comic to Dickens, that he would have wholly failed to see the serious aspects and painful consequences so admirably set forth by the author. The character of

Causabon, too, if depicted by Thackeray or Fielding, or even Scott, would have been at times intensely amusing, and what a humorous fellow they would have made of Will Ladislaw. Only a clever woman could admire such a character as Daniel Deronda, whose object in life seemed to be to deliver lay sermons in drawing rooms, and impertinently interfere in his neighbours' affairs, and who relinquished his social position as an English gentleman to become the disciple of an insane and rhapsodical Jew. No doubt Daniel Deronda is an interesting type of character, and one full of strange incongruities, could the author have seen them, but as depicted he is merely a wearisome prig with a slight dash of madness. We may judge how feminine this conception is by comparing it with Don Quixote, the great prototype of Knight Errantry to all time. Daniel Deronda is an English Knight of La Mancha in the nineteenth century, as depicted by a highly cultured and intelligent lady—and what a falling off is there!

It may be said that *Paradise Lost* and *The Divine Comedy* are uniformly gloomy in tone and deficient in humour; but an epic poem unlike a novel is not intended to represent real life.

George Eliot is otherwise deficient in dramatic power. She depicts her characters not by means of dialogue, but by the aid of elaborate dissertations. It would seem from an allusion in one of her novels that she considers she is following in the footsteps of Fielding, who wrote careful comments on things in general, in the form of introductory chapters to the various episodes of his great work. But the characterization as well as the story of *Tom Jones* is quite independent of these charming dissertations. George Eliot, on the contrary, presents her characters to us by a process of dissection, and is never so happy as when she is exhibiting the mechanism of her *dramatis personæ*. This may be in accordance with scientific method, but it is altogether inartistic. It is as though a theatrical manager after exhibiting a transformation scene insisted on taking the spectators behind the scenes and explaining the action of the cranks and pulleys, and calling attention to the rough daubs on the canvas, and the marks of the hares-foot on the faces of the peris. A knowledge of these details may be necessary to a proper comprehension of stage mechanism, but would decidedly interfere with our enjoyment and appreciation of the mimic scene. It is worthy of remark that the admired extracts from George Eliot's writings are taken not from the dialogue but from the dissertations

in which she dissects her characters, or expounds her moral doctrines. Perhaps the only exception is in the case of Mrs. Poyser in *Adam Bede*, who is sometimes regarded as a highly humorous character because of her partiality for proverbial expressions.

So undramatic is her last novel, *Daniel Deronda*, that it might not inaptly be styled, "A treatise on Judaism in Relation to Modern Civilization with numerous Illustrations"—the illustrations being the *dramatis personæ*.

Throughout all her novels, she elaborately deduces moral lessons from the conduct of her characters, forgetting that the incidents alone should embody the moral of the tale. Her ethical standard too, is feminine. The stories of Lydgate, Dorothea, Tito Melema, and Gwendolen Harleth, are all intended to show that if we presume to rely on ourselves, however skilfully we may lay our plans, Providence in some unforeseen way will step in and shatter all our hopes; and then her evil characters are ruined, and the good ones forthwith kneel before some spiritual adviser, a Savonarola or Deronda, and are shown the 'higher law,' that of self-abnegation. This conduct is not to be confused with acts of self-sacrifice. When the occasion justifies it, a morally-constructed man will risk all that he holds dear, even his life, for another, but this is different to surrendering one's individuality, and becoming a mental serf. To argue that self-sacrifice is a gain to *both* parties, and that we should under all circumstances ignore our own claims and rely on the judgment of others is manifestly absurd. It is, however, an essentially feminine teaching, as women throughout all time have been the dependents of men. But in the battle of life men have daily forced upon them a quite opposite lesson. They learn that unless they rely upon themselves and assiduously struggle for a place, they will be rudely pushed aside. It may be that this 'struggle for existence' makes men less mindful of the feelings of others than women are, and that self-abnegation is really a higher law of life than self-assertion. But until the Commune is established it is idle to preach this doctrine. Glance at the phenomena of social life, and what is the moral to be drawn? To be successful a man should possess certain qualities, foremost among which are a good thinking and a good digesting apparatus, industry, tact, and a clear notion of the difference between *meum* and *tuum*. These qualities and not self-abnegation elevate a man to the judicial or episcopal bench, or to any of those positions in which he can be of service to his fellow-men.

In real life, Tito Melema who quietly ignored his foster father, and desired to sell his deceased father-in-law's library (after it had become his own property), might have been cut short by the dagger of Baldassarre, but that outrage would have produced a feeling of universal horror in the community, and the murderer had he lived long enough to stand his trial, would have been rightfully hanged. This is not meant as an apology for Tito's filial ingratitude and disregard of the feelings of others. It is to be noted, however, that the desertion of Baldassarre is a profoundly unnatural incident, and could only be introduced for the purposes of the book; and though it may point a moral, it certainly disfigures the tale. Tito Melema may not be an heroic type of character, but then heroes are scarce. Assuredly he had all the qualities which gain for a man the chief places at feasts, and the esteem of his fellows. And had he been depicted as successful in life, and honored in death, notwithstanding his inattention to those subjective ethical theorems which so largely occupy the author, it would have shown a greater knowledge of life, and the character might have been one of the most striking in modern fiction, although Romola could not then have drawn the moral lesson at the end of the story.

Notwithstanding all this, we turn to the pages of George Eliot with a sense of relief after attempting to read any of the other popular female novelists. Her writings display reflection, a careful literary style, insight into certain phases of human nature, and are incomparably superior in everything but mere mechanical contrivance to the three volume *ephemera* of the circulating libraries. But when we are assured that she rivals Scott in power of description, Dickens in humour, Fielding in common-sense, and is second only to Shakespeare in comprehensiveness of genius, we recognise that fiction is now a feminine department of literature, and that the standard of excellence is materially debased. We can then understand, too, how the intense masculineness of Bret Harte has contributed to his failure as a novelist.

It must be admitted that Mr. Harte's creative faculty seems to be extremely limited. He is at home in the bar-rooms and gulches, but appears awkward in the drawing room. Perhaps his disregard of the opposite sex makes him incapable of depicting a state of society in which women play an important and reputable part. At any rate the few glimpses he has given us of refined life are eminently unsatisfactory. His young ladies are vulgar, and those over five and thirty have transgressed the seventh commandment too openly. His

constructive faculty too is weak, and one naturally wonders why he should have written a long novel, rather than a fresh series of short stories. Probably he was impelled by that commercial current which now bears literature and all other things along. A painter we are told has only to achieve a name by a successful picture, and he can make a fortune by pot-boiling. The result is that wealth accumulates and art decays. It is precisely the same in literature. Quantity is the great desideratum, and one can but marvel at the number of books published in January and forgotten by December. As to the novels of the day, with few exceptions, they can have no permanent value as representations of contemporary life and manners, and as soon as they have fulfilled their immediate purpose—that of assisting the idle to escape *ennui*—they must pass into oblivion. Perhaps the tendency is for literature to become ephemeral, and that in a while no man's fame will outlast his generation. Mill maintained that it was impertinent to legislate for posterity, and it may be that leasehold will be the literary tenure of the future. Are there not signs of this? Pope and Dryden remain on our shelves, and Fielding and Sterne are to most men mere names. How many of the rising generation read the romances of the mighty Magician of the North although they may be purchased for threepence? Only the other day Charles Dickens was buried in Westminster Abbey, with a nation's lamentation, and already his fame seems on the wane.

But perhaps from out this Babel of 'New Publications'—these huge tomes, scientific, theological, philosophical, these wordy novels and inflated epics, one or two gems may be curiously regarded by those who are to come after us. It may be some light trifle which we in our eagerness trample under foot, or carelessly pass by. Commerce has not quite destroyed the artistic faculty. In the less pretentious English periodicals we may see from time to time, essays almost as dainty in expression, and of as fine a humorous vein as Elia. Some of Tennyson's exquisite verse is as worthy of lasting renown as any of Horace; and if future generations deign to glance at our inkmarks, it may be predicted that Bret Harte will receive a not unkindly recognition.

ARTHUR P. MARTIN.

A FORGOTTEN STATESMAN.*

THE life of William, Earl of Shelburne may be studied with advantage by all ambitious politicians. He was, for more than twenty years, a prominent figure in English Parliamentary warfare, from the accession of George III. until his own retirement from office in 1783. He was the friend and trusted associate of Lord Chatham, after whose death he became the leader of a small, but illustrious band of adherents, who, with him, had followed the fortunes of the great orator. He was Secretary of State in two Administrations, and eventually Prime Minister of England. Under him the youthful William Pitt first took office as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He is described by Macaulay (certainly no partial judge of the rival of Charles James Fox) as being distinguished not only as a statesman, but as a lover of science and letters. Yet he is scarcely remembered by the present generation, to whom Pitt and Fox are household words—or known, if at all, by the evil report of Horace Walpole, and other scandalmongers. That he was unpopular with his contemporaries, students of history know; that he deserved that unpopularity they assume; a couplet, an epigram, a story, “damns to everlasting fame,” and thus many a great reputation is ruined.

A perusal of the volumes before us, including a very interesting fragment of autobiography (which breaks off, however, just at the entrance of the young lord into political life), will produce a more favourable impression of the career of Lord Shelburne. He appears to have been neither a dishonest intriguer, nor a mercenary office-seeker, but a consistent and honest statesman. When supporting Lord Bute, in the outset of his political career, he sought for no personal reward; a colleague of George Grenville, he resigned office rather than acquiesce in the unconstitutional prosecution of John Wilkes. As Secretary of State in the Ministry over which Lord Chatham nominally presided, he opposed with all his might the tyrannical policy adopted towards the American colonies, and eventually retired after an unavailing struggle with his colleagues. His Parliamentary conduct during the whole of the disastrous

*The Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, first Marquis of Lansdowne, with extracts from his Papers and Correspondence. By Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice: 1876.

contest between England and the new-born United States of America was distinguished by dignity and sound judgment; and had his advice been followed, the greatest calamity which his country has ever sustained, might possibly have been averted. Recalled to office as Secretary of State in the second Rockingham Administration, in a day of bitter humiliation for England, he was mainly instrumental in negotiating terms for a peace, which afterwards, as Prime Minister he carried to a conclusion, and which, though bitterly attacked by his opponents in Parliament, was more favourable, on the whole, than England could have expected.

His elevation to the chief office in the State was the natural consequence of the death of Lord Rockingham, not the result of any intrigue or back-stairs influence. Indeed, he had previously been offered this position and had magnanimously declined it, insisting, very much against the will of George III. that the Whig leader must be appointed. And when he fell, before a coalition so flagrantly dishonest, that even the warmest admirers of those who formed it cannot say a word in its favour, no unseemly struggle for rank and pelf marked his retirement from office. He provided for a few friends in the way usual at that time (and had he neglected such provision, he would, we may be sure, have heard ferocious attacks on his ingratitude) but he sought and received nothing for himself. One unexpected piece of patronage, indeed, came in his way. Vergennes, the French minister, expressed privately a wish to show by any means that lay in his power, his sense of the *upright and honourable* way in which Lord Shelburne had conducted the negotiations for peace. A pension or some other favour for Morellet, the great French economist, was asked by Shelburne, and granted accordingly, Morellet receiving a pension of 4,000 francs per annum.

How the coalition between Fox and North was discredited and denounced, how the India bill of their Ministry was rejected in the House of Lords by the improper use of the King's name and influence is well known. It is perhaps not so well known that in this transaction Shelburne took no part. On the retirement of Fox and North, however, he might naturally have expected to be consulted as to the formation of the new administration, of which his late colleague, William Pitt, was to be the moving spirit; yet he displayed no

unworthy disappointment at his exclusion from their deliberations and arrangements. He did not, as many politicians have done, before and since his time, immediately set himself to disparage and injure men with whose principles he agreed, and with some of whom he had held office previously; he did not ally himself to men with whom he had nothing in common in order to avenge his exclusion on his former friends. It was observed, indeed, that he trusted too much to measures, and not to men, for the conduct of affairs. During the earlier years of Pitt's long tenure of office, Lord Shelburne gave him a fair and loyal support, and if eventually he became estranged from the great minister, he might say with truth that not his own principles, but those of his former colleagues, had become deteriorated. For it was not until government in England had, under the influence of passionate excitement, developed into tyranny and oppression, that Lord Shelburne (now Marquis of Lansdowne) went into open opposition. He saw with horror, we are told, the injury which the excesses of the Jacobins were bringing on the cause of Revolution when, to use the phrase of Vergniaud, she was, "like Saturn, devouring her own children," yet he was not deterred by these feelings from advocating the cause of Parliamentary Reform, or of avowing his belief that the ordinary law of the land was sufficient to maintain order and good government. These views, held through unceasing obloquy and unpopularity, gradually brought him into communication and honourable alliance with Fox, and had he survived, he would probably have had a share in the "Administration of all the talents" formed after the death of Pitt. His last speech was in favour of peace. "Let us first try," he said—speaking of the impending rupture with France, in 1803—"every possible way to obtain by conciliation the objects we are desirous of possessing; and if our efforts fail let us then have recourse to arms. Let us profit by the example of the American war, and take care that our discretion and prudence be not sacrificed to false glory."

He did not live to enter into a political combination, which would have been perfectly honourable, and in accordance with his own consistently maintained principles, but his son, Lord Henry Petty (better remembered by the present generation as Marquis of Lansdowne), took office as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the combined Ministry at 26 years of age.

Lord Shelburne, to continue the title by which he is known in

history, died at his country seat of Bowood on 7th of May, 1805, and was buried in the church of High Wycombe, "in the county which," says his descendant and biographer, "has given five Prime Ministers to Great Britain. No tasteless monument nor fulsome inscription disfigures his grave, but if any epitaph were needed to mark where he rests, it might be found in the words attributed to Bentham, that alone of his own time the first Lord Lansdowne was 'a Minister who did not fear the people.'"

The observation of Jeremy Bentham was no mere "lying trophy," but was derived from long and intimate knowledge; nor is anything in the career of Lord Shelburne more worthy of praise than the readiness with which throughout his life he cultivated the friendship and assisted the fortunes of literary men. And his generosity was not of that offensive sort which wrung forth from Johnson the bitter couplet enumerating the troubles which "the scholar's life assail"—

"Toil, envy, want, the patron, and the gaol;"

but sprang rather from intelligent appreciation of the advantages derived from literary society. Bentham himself was, for many years, an almost constant inmate of Bowood, and gives interesting testimony to the character of its master. "The master of Bowood," he wrote, "to judge from everything I have seen yet, is one of the pleasantest creatures to live with that ever God put breath into; his whole study seems to be to make everybody about him happy, servants not excepted; and in their countenances one may read the effects of his endeavours. In his presence they are as cheerful as they are respectful and attentive. . . . To such a poor devil as I, they are as respectful and attentive as if I were a lord. It would please you to see how attentive he is upon all occasions to keep out of sight every idea of protection—everything that could give me to understand that he looked upon it as a favour done me to introduce me to great people." In another place he wrote, "My attachment to the great cause of mankind received its first development (though not its existence) from the affections I found in that heart, and the company I found in that house. Among the friendships it gave me was Dumont's; one that it helped to form was Romilly's." The philosopher found time to give, apart from this eulogy, an amusing account of his life at Bowood, in a letter to his father, written in July, 1781. He is enchanted with Lady Shelburne

and her sister, and next with the quadrupeds (there was a menagerie at Bowood), at the head of which, however, he places a child a year old. "To the first I am body-coachman extraordinary. Lord Henry, for that is his name, has, for such an animal, the most thinking countenance I ever saw—being very pretty—I can keep him with pleasure, especially after having been rewarded, as I have just now, for my attention to him, by a pair of the sweetest smiles imaginable from his mother and aunt."

"To-day is Sunday. I know it, having been paying my devotions—our church, the hall; our minister, a sleek young parson, the curate of the parish; our saints, a naked Mercury, an Apollo in the same dress, and a Venus de Medicis; a combination almost as startling as the groves of Blarney, where it is recorded that

Pluto and Venus and Nicodemus
Are all standing naked in the open air."

Among the other constant visitors or residents at Bowood were Dr. Price and Dr. Priestley, the latter of whom acted for many years as librarian, and pursued during that time, with unceasing activity, theological controversy and scientific research.

The studies of Dr. Price were of a more financial and political character. His "Treatise on Reversionary payments" was a valuable contribution to Insurance literature, and contained an unsparing exposure of the unsafe character of the benefit societies which were being continually founded in London and elsewhere. The success of the work was undoubted, and it is hardly necessary to add that the alarm of the policy holders of existing offices was equalled by the indignation of the directors. The same phenomenon has been witnessed since Dr. Price's day, with the same result.

To Dr. Price, moreover, belongs the merit or demerit of reviving the institution of the Sinking Fund—advocated by him in his "Appeal to the public on the National Debt," and which had existed previously from 1716 to 1733. The controversy raised by this measure has passed away, the fatal objection to its maintenance being the necessity of its support by loans in times of extraordinary expenditure (when, as Sheridan remarked, "How can I pay you unless you lend me the money"), and the extreme probability that so tempting a resource will be seized as soon as difficulty arises. Pitt's Sinking Fund disappeared, as we know, with wonderful rapidity, and Tom Moore has celebrated its decease in some comical lines

embalming, at the same time, the name of "Prosperity Robinson," afterwards Lord Goderich,—

Take your bell, take your bell,
 Good crier and tell
 To the bulls and the bears till their ears are stunned,
 That lost or stolen,
 Or fallen through a hole in
 The Treasury floor is the Sinking Fund ;
 Oh yes ! oh yes !
 Can anybody guess,
 What the deuce has become of this Treasury wonder,
 It has Pitt's name on't,
 All brass in the front,
 And Robinson's, scrawled with a goose quill, under.

Yet after all, it did not differ in principle from other devices for deluding the people into saving. The remarks made by an old friend of Pitt's—John Hookham Frere—on this subject, are very just, " People talk of the Sinking Fund, as if Pitt had ever imagined that money had some mysterious reproductive power. He never imagined anything of the kind. But he knew human nature, and he thought—I believe rightly, that it was a device by which people could be made more patient of taxation to pay off debts than in any other form, and most people who have an income in excess of their current expenditure devise some kind of sinking fund for themselves." The conversion of a portion of the public debt into terminable annuities, adopted by Mr. Gladstone, is perhaps the most efficacious method, as being less easily noticed, and therefore less likely to be meddled with; but there have been numerous advocates found to allege that all these precautions are unnecessary, and that we need take no thought for posterity. Nor may we wonder at such views, especially among politicians. What can be a better title to popularity than a profuse government expenditure at the cost of the future? Borrowing though "no remedy for the consumption of the purse, lingers and lingers it out;" and may keep the author of the arrangement popular until popularity be no more needed. And possibly it may, ere long, be judicious, that individuals should abandon the formation of those private Sinking Funds to which Mr. Frere alludes. It appears likely, in some countries, that the duties of wealth will shortly embrace the necessity of distributing it among those who have not earned or inherited it, and I fear that imperfect human nature will hardly be content with so unselfish a reward for exertion and self-denial. In

that regenerated state of society, therefore, men will eat and drink, "have children at their desire," and "leave the rest of their substance" (if they have any) "to their babes," or if not, leave the babies to the care of that nursing mother, the State. The process will become expensive, eventually, but that is not the business of the present generation.

The views of Dr. Price found a warm advocate in Lord Shelburne, the natural bent of whose mind was towards retrenchment and reform, and who, almost alone among the statesmen of that time had become converted to the principles advocated by Adam Smith, in England, and the Abbé Morellet in France. Shelburne often confessed that his connection with Morellet was the turning point of his career, and in his letter to Vergennes, already mentioned, he once more stated that it was to Morellet he owed the liberal views on commercial affairs and the relations between France and England, which his loss of office alone prevented him from embodying in commercial treaties. His speech, indeed, upon the French treaty of Pitt in 1787 is said to have been the ablest he ever made. He ridiculed the notion that France had always been unfriendly to England, or was her natural enemy, and pointed out with great force the changes that had taken place in men's minds as to the commercial system and the balance of trade. A little later he writes to Morellet:—"I have not changed an atom of the principles I first imbibed from you and Adam Smith. They make a woful slow progress, but I cannot look upon them as extinct; on the contrary they must prevail in the end like the sea." Slow indeed is the progress made! It is 70 years and upwards since Lord Shelburne died, and we have just witnessed here the triumph of a party to whom the principles of Adam Smith are "a stumbling-stone and a rock of offence," who find Cairnes illogical, and Bastiat unintelligible. Lord Shelburne was too sanguine of the conversion of the world to the principles which he held dear; but his advocacy of them would, I believe, have been no less ardent had he been less hopeful, since he fought for no party, but for his own faith. "It constitutes my pride and my principle," he said, "to belong to no faction, but to approve every measure on its own ground, free from all connection. Such is my political creed." Under the influence of these views, we learn, he even proposed to establish a newspaper called *The Neutralist*, which should be above party, and devoted to the advocacy of free-trade doctrines, and no doubt the proposition would have been productive of great good, could he have obtained readers

who were not already convinced. The truth is, that the public read newspaper articles on such subjects with a desire not so much to learn, as to see their own somewhat hazy views gathered and fashioned and put into popular form. For the most part their opinions are formed by their prejudices, their associations, their class predilections and antipathies, and they not only do not desire, but are determined not to change them.

Lord Shelburne, enthusiastic in his project, begged the assistance of Dr. Price, urging that gentleman "to abandon his theological wrangles, and leave the Archbishops and Doctors of Divinity to die by their own hands." The attractions of religious controversy, however, were too powerful, and the newspaper was not established; but Shelburne continued to the end of his days to urge the adoption by the nations of Europe of a policy wherein Peace, Free Trade, and Economy should have full sway.

Without enlarging further on the character of this distinguished statesman, as developed in the volumes before us, we may reasonably ask what causes produced such unpopularity as he suffered at the hands of his political contemporaries and associates. It was no ordinary sentiment; it was shared by men otherwise differing in opinion; in some, such as Horace Walpole and Burke, it amounted almost to frenzy. The orator denounced him in the House of Commons, the writer raved at him in his journals; classical and mediæval villainy was invoked to find a parallel for his crimes. "Catiline and Borgia were his models," these distinguished characters occupying apparently in the 18th century the position of shocking examples.

"If clouds and earthquakes break not Heaven's design
Why then a Borgia or a Catiline?"

said Pope many years before.

The nickname of *Malagrida* was first conferred upon him by a writer in the *Public Advertiser*, purporting to give an account of a masquerade at the Opera House, and representing Shelburne in the disguise of the Portuguese Jesuit, who had some years before been put to death for share in an alleged conspiracy in that country. "A single line of his face will be sufficient to give us the heir apparent of Loyola and all the college. A little more of the devil, my lord, if you please, about the eyebrows; that is enough—a perfect *Malagrida*, I protest."

What similarity existed between Borgia or Catiline and an

English nobleman of liberal views, and irreproachable private character, it would have been difficult for Burke or Walpole to explain, and probably nothing more was meant than the usual license of party warfare; any well-known criminal, from Cain to Colonel Blood, would have served the purpose. The poet from whom I have already quoted complains of

"The moral's blackened when the writings 'scape,
The libelled person and the pictured shape."

And it is in accordance with such a system that we find the writer of the lampoon on Shelburne placing near him his friend Colonel Barré, as a "blinking bulldog," in delicate allusion to Barré's injured eye.

The nickname of *Malagrida*, however, must have hit the popular taste, for it adhered to Shelburne through life, and he was represented as a Jesuit in every caricature of the period. The title implied, according to popular belief, a charge against him of habitual insincerity; and Walpole went so far as to style him the incarnation of falsehood, and to declare that the King hated him, all the higher orders knew him, and the people could have no favourable opinion of him. He it was, other writers declared, who cheated Henry Fox, and betrayed Lord Chatham, and it is at any rate certain that his personal unpopularity was the main cause of defeat to the Ministry over which he presided. Unpopular ministers suffer sometimes for their faults, but more often for their good qualities. Rigid guardianship of the public purse, impatience of dishonest or preposterous claims, keen speech, and resolute action, are certain to raise up hosts of enemies, and probably also to alienate friends; and if to these qualities be added an ungracious demeanour, the possessor is indeed unfortunate. Lord Shelburne, as his biographer admits, was not pleasant to his ordinary acquaintances, although sincerely esteemed by those whom he could really call friends. His manner, though not coarse or rough, was perhaps even more offensive, being characterised by an overstrained courtesy, and the use of extravagant compliments, which no one could believe to be sincere. His early life had been wretched, his education defective, and he often spoke bitterly of the domestic brutality and ill usage to which he had been subjected in youth, and which apparently created in him a disposition to artifice and suspicion. The experience gained in political life during the 20 years of mediocrity and mismanagement which continued from the retirement of the elder Pitt to the accession of

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his son to office, was likely, we may easily understand, to foster every feeling of distrust and contempt, and Lord Shelburne evidently made no effort at concealment. Yet the charge of dishonest conduct to Henry Fox made against him was due, as we learn from authentic documents, only to his having conceived too favourable an opinion of that statesman's integrity. Shelburne was requested by Bute to negotiate with Henry Fox for his support to the Ministry in the House of Commons, and afterwards to induce him to take the leadership there. The transaction is worthy of notice, as evincing that political morality has, to say the least, somewhat improved since those days. Members of Parliament, even if still open to considerations, must at any rate be approached circumspectly, but here no concealment was attempted, nor any obnoxious discussion of principles introduced. The arrangement was conducted with perfect frankness, the price being for the first service, a peerage for Mrs. Fox, and for the second, a similar honour for Fox himself. Shelburne's conduct was said to have been apologetically described by Bute to Fox as a "pious fraud." "I see the fraud well enough," was the answer, "but where lies the piety?" The fraud consisted in Shelburne expressing his belief that Fox would give up, on obtaining his peerage, the lucrative office of paymaster general, which he had long held. Fox, whose amiability and sweetness in private life, so lovingly depicted by Whig historians, was united with a rapacity for gain unequalled even by his contemporaries, had no intention of giving up any office willingly. It is hardly necessary to say that what he facetiously styled his notions of honour gained the day, but his unjustifiable attack on Shelburne was only an after thought; for he only complained at first, "Lord Shelburne thought his judgment better than mine, imagined that my notions of honour, as different from his, as common sense from romance, must at least be got the better of." On such slight foundations was erected the accusation of dishonesty which so materially injured Shelburne in after life. A more genuine cause of complaint was to be found in his attitude towards his political associates. He was evidently a man of strong prejudices and great self-confidence, the former being exhibited notably in his observations on the various public characters of his time, of whom he speaks so bitterly that his biographer is occasionally compelled to explain how the remarks were made subsequent to a quarrel between Lord Shelburne and the particular person described. He was certainly no hero-worshipper,

and not even the dazzling glory of Chatham, or his own sincere attachment, could blind him to the faults of that meteor of statesmanship. "What took much from his (Lord Chatham's) character was that he was always acting, always made up, and never natural; in a perpetual state of exertion, incapable of friendship, or of any act which tended to it, and constantly upon the watch, and never unbent. I never found him when I have gone to him, which was always by appointment, with so much as a book before him, but always sitting in a drawing-room, waiting the hour of appointment, and in the country with his hat and stick in his hand."

His observations on the character of Lord Bute are more severe, and owe their bitterness partly to his national prejudice against the Scotch; yet his early friendship with Bute might have taught him more conciliatory language. "Lord Bute was made up of several real contradictions and more apparent ones, with no small mixture of madness, like any Scotch nobleman—proud, pompous, imposing—with a great deal of superficial knowledge, a smattering of mechanics, a little metaphysics, and a very false taste in everything." Nor are graver accusations wanting. "He was insolent and cowardly, at least, the greatest political coward I ever knew. He was ready to abandon his nearest friend if attacked, or to throw any blame off his shoulders." And if Lord Shelburne spoke thus of former friends, we may readily understand that he did not spare his foes. Against some, such as Lord George Sackville, who, however, deserved anything that could be said of him, a ferocious diatribe is delivered; others are let off with a sarcasm or a story. Among the latter party is included Sir Francis Dashwood, Bute's Chancellor of the Exchequer, "the worst that was ever known." What may happen to a nation under such Ministers is illustrated by the reason which Shelburne assigns for the imposition of the unpopular excise duty on cyder. A tax on linen was, it appears, to have been proposed, but Sir Francis could not be made to understand it, and the tax had therefore to be abandoned. Lord Mansfield, however, was the opponent against whom Shelburne principally directed his attacks in the House of Lords, and his character of that great lawyer is a combination of national and personal dislike. "Lord Mansfield had, like the generality of the Scotch, no regard to truth whatever; the Master of the Rolls said to me one day, 'Did you ever know such a liar as William Murray, whom we have seen capable of lying before 12 men, every one of whom, he knows, knows also that he lies?'" Elsewhere Lord

Mansfield is accused of "inventing laws," and of never having decided a cause right or wrong from a pure motive all his life. The highest personages in the realm did not escape Shelburne's lash, and it is somewhat startling to find "Farmer George," that excellent man, but very mischievous king, accused, on what appear to be good grounds, of persistent insincerity. During the struggle between Shelburne and the great Whig coalition, the King, it is said, was loud in his protestations of friendship, but his Minister was convinced that he was playing a double game. "George III. had one art above any man I have ever known—for that by the familiarity of his intercourse he obtained your confidence, procured from you your opinion of different public characters, and then availed himself of this knowledge to sow dissension."

Much of the asperity exhibited by Lord Shelburne in these descriptions of his old political associates and antagonists arose, we may understand, from a recollection of the treatment meted out to himself, and good reason was there for complaint on his part. But it was not only in his writings that the faults of his character were displayed. Throughout his public career, his debating powers, of which even Horace Walpole spoke highly, were chiefly employed in sarcasm and invective; and when we learn that he was "a great master of irony," and that "no man ever expressed bitter scorn for his opponents with more art or effect," we do not need to be told that he generally embittered the contest and enlivened the debate. It is something, at any rate, that he could deliver what Artemus Ward calls, a "genteel home-thrust." His oratory, however, on one occasion led him into a duel with a Mr. Fullerton, and again nearly produced the same result, his antagonist on the latter occasion being the Duke of Richmond, when the Whigs expressed a devout hope that the one might kill the other, and be hung for it.

His attacks on Lord Mansfield, "the dark designing lawyer," as he loved to call him, provoked at least one scene of violent recrimination in the House of Lords. On another occasion he roused the ire of the bench of Bishops, and altogether his oratory must have been the cause of considerable discomfort to his dignified but somewhat dull companions. Need we then be surprised if Lord Shelburne was unpopular among his contemporaries, and if those whom he disliked and despised returned the hostility which he exhibited? A keen understanding, a cold heart, and a bitter tongue, are not likely to

inspire friendship or popularity. Better an occasional blunder, or an ocean of rigmarole, than a perpetual criticism, a perpetual assumption of superiority.

"Your politicians
Have evermore a taint of vanity."

They are mostly egotists, and therefore naturally dislike nothing so much as egotism.

And yet, with all his faults, Lord Shelburne, I think, may fairly claim from history a reversal of the verdict passed by his contemporaries. Through a stormy and chequered career, amid the deteriorating society of servile and mercenary politicians, he preserved his principles and his personal integrity. If the consistent and earnest pursuit of lofty objects can establish any claim to public esteem, Lord Shelburne deserved well of his country, and his biographer may be congratulated on having rescued from unmerited obloquy the memory of his distinguished ancestor.

R. MURRAY SMITH.

SPENCER'S PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY.*

READERS of those volumes of the series entitled "A System of Synthetic Philosophy," by Mr. Herbert Spencer, which have been published during the last fifteen years, will be glad to find that another volume, the sixth, has at last made its appearance. "First Principles," "The Principles of Biology," and "The Principles of Psychology," have been followed by the first volume of "The Principles of Sociology," a book of over 700 pages. As during the last few years, Mr. Spencer's philosophical system has taken deeper root and spread more widely than perhaps any other, and as the present volume, from the nature of its subject matter and mode of treatment, will probably be more generally read and more keenly criticised than any of the former works of the series, we propose to devote a few pages of this Review to an examination of the most important and interesting part of the book, chiefly in the form of an abstract of the doctrines contained in it, with such occasional criticism as is involved in comparing them with the views of other thinkers on some of the questions which are here discussed. It will be admitted on all hands that no greater subject, or one the study of which involves more wide and far-reaching consequences upon the minds of men can engage the attention of any thinker than that which is dealt with by the latest born of the sciences—Sociology. Still more will this be admitted of the particular question which occupies the largest and by far the most important part of Mr. Spencer's volume. That question is the growth and development of religious belief; which is here traced step by step from its lowly origin in those primitive notions which are forced upon the savage by his contemplation of the various natural phenomena which surround him—to the vast and complex structure—the pantheon of gods and angels and devils, the Heaven and Hell, the everlasting life hereafter—which has been reared by countless generations of men as they passed slowly and laboriously from barbarism to the highest civilization. This great and all-important subject is treated by Mr. Spencer in nineteen chapters of the first part of the volume (8 to 26) more systematically, more comprehensively, and with a greater knowledge of the facts than it has ever been treated before.

* The Principles of Sociology. Vol. I. By Herbert Spencer : 1877.

The result is that, for the first time, we have put forward a philosophy of religious belief which is entirely free from all theological and metaphysical reasoning, and that is strictly founded upon the most advanced methods and results of positive science.

The importance of this achievement will be seen when we consider that hitherto the believers in the current theology have relied mainly on the argument that all the efforts of free-thinkers and sceptics have been purely negative—purely destructive; and that no one has yet been able to explain how the great fabric of religion, how the belief in a God, in a soul, and in a life hereafter came to originate. Hence, the defenders of orthodoxy have argued, these beliefs must be regarded as inexplicable, or as explicable only upon the assumptions which are involved in their own theory—must be regarded as of supernatural origin, or else as instincts too deeply rooted in the nature of things to be capable of any farther explanation. It must be admitted that, with some partial exceptions, this charge is true. Until quite recently the efforts of free-thinkers have been mainly critical and destructive, have been directed to showing that the current explanations are unsound; and before this had been accomplished it was impossible that a more satisfactory theory could be established in their place. The work of destruction must always precede that of construction. The ground must be cleared of the rickety and temporary edifices which encumber it, before a more solid and enduring structure can be reared in their place. The history of scientific progress shows that this has ever been the case; and therefore the charge which has constantly been made against destructive criticism in the domain of theology, has rightly been disregarded by those against whom it was made. The first attempt to construct a scientific theory of the origin and development of religious beliefs, was probably that of Auguste Comte, the leading principles of which have for some years past been very generally accepted by our foremost scientific thinkers. There is, however, this defect in Comte's theory, a defect inevitable at the time he wrote—that however correct it may be in so far as it deals with the later stages of religion, it makes no attempt to show how such a system of belief originated. He abstained from trying to realize the state of mind of the primitive man and the crude notions which he must necessarily form of the external world—although these must evidently be the basis upon which all subsequent beliefs are founded. It is only within the last few years, when the customs, creeds, and institutions of existing

savage and semi-civilized races have been carefully studied, and the results made known in the works of such writers as Tylor, Lubbock, and M'Lennan, that it has become possible to construct a complete explanation both of the origin and after stages of religious belief. At length, however, the ground having been cleared, and the necessary materials accumulated, a solid and substantial theory has been built up.

Henceforth, the adherents of the present system will have to change their mode of attack. They will have to show that the explanation now put forward is either erroneous, that is, is not a logical inference from admitted facts—or else that it is only a partial explanation—that it still leaves certain facts unaccounted for. That Mr. Spencer's theory will require more or less revision; that portions of it will ultimately be rejected and have their place supplied by fresh material, is likely enough. When we consider that the first scientific explanation of any set of facts is hardly ever the final explanation, it becomes almost certain that Mr. Spencer's theory of the origin and development of religious beliefs will have to undergo more or less modification before it assumes its complete and perfect form. Still it is hardly likely that the main outlines of the theory, the basis of the whole and many of the details, will ever be rejected. Any scientific theory on the subject must be built upon the lines now for the first time laid down by Mr. Spencer. And therefore his work forms an epoch in the history of science—an enduring landmark in the progress of man's intellectual development.

Let us see then from what premisses our author starts, and at what conclusions he ultimately arrives. Assuming, what Mr. Spencer has laboured to establish in the former volumes of the series, the truth of the general doctrine of evolution, and of the more particular form of it, called in relation to the organic world the development theory, we start with man at the time when, by the acquisition of language, he has emerged from the myriads of brute forms that in physical structure more or less resemble him. The question we have to consider is—what effect would be produced upon the mind of this primitive man, by the contemplation of the varied natural phenomena which surround him, and of the physical and mental facts common to his own nature and to that of his fellow men? Mr. Spencer devotes a chapter entitled "Primitive Ideas," to an attempt to construct the mental state which our barbarous ancestors were forced into by their observation of the

world in which they lived. He begins with the following important remark :—

“We must set out with the postulate that primitive ideas are natural, and under the conditions in which they occur, rational. In early life we have been taught that human nature is everywhere the same. Led thus to contemplate the beliefs of savages as beliefs entertained by minds like our own, we marvel at their strangeness, and ascribe perversity to those who hold them. Casting aside this error, we must substitute for it the truth that laws of thought are everywhere the same ; and that, given the data as known to him, the inference drawn by the primitive man is the reasonable inference.”—p. 111.

He then proceeds to show that when we consider the great mistakes made in the classification of things, and in the inferences drawn from them, by the ignorant classes among civilized races, and by the most enlightened men of a few centuries ago, how much greater must have been the mistakes made by primitive men, at a time when there were no enlightened classes and no accumulated knowledge in existence.

“In old works on natural history whales are called fishes; living in the water and fishlike in shape, what else should they be? Nine out of ten cabin passengers, and ninety-nine out of a hundred of those in the steerage, would be amazed were you to tell them that the porpoises playing about the steamer's bow are nearer akin to dogs than to cod.”—pp. 112, 113.

We can understand then how the Esquimaux believed that woollen clothing was a skin, that glass was ice, and biscuits the dried flesh of the musk ox. We can also see that it is not so unnatural for the Orinoco Indians to believe that dew is “the spittle of the stars”—especially when we call to mind our own common expression “it spits with rain.” Let us now try to trace out the natural and inevitable beliefs engendered in the primitive man by the great physical phenomena which are ever before him.

“In the sky, clear a few moments ago, the savage sees a fragment of cloud which grows while he gazes. At another time, watching one of these moving masses he observes shreds of it drift away and vanish, and presently the whole disappears. What thought results in him? He knows nothing about precipitation and dissolution of vapour ; nor has there been any one to stop his inquiry by the reply—‘It is only a cloud.’ The essential fact forced on his attention, is that something he could not before see has become visible ; and something just now visible has vanished. The whence and the where and the why, he cannot tell ; but there is the fact. In this same space above him occur other changes. As day declines bright points here and there show themselves, becoming clearer and more numerous as darkness increases, and then at dawn they fade gradually until not one is left. Differing from clouds utterly in size,

form, colour, &c., differing also as continually reappearing in something like the same places in the same relative positions, and in moving, but very slowly, always in the same way; they are yet like them in becoming now visible, and now invisible. That feeble lights may be wholly obscured by a bright light, and that the stars are shining during the day, though he does not see them, are facts beyond the imagination of the savage. The truth as he perceives it is that these existences now show themselves, and now are hidden.—p. 120.

In addition to these manifestations, including the sun and moon, may be added others more irregular and striking, such as comets, meteors, the aurora, flashes of lightning, rainbows, halos.

“So that by a being absolutely ignorant but able to remember and to group the things he remembers, the heavens must be regarded as a scene of arrivals and departures of many kinds of existences; some gradual, some sudden, but alike in this, that it is impossible to say whence the existences come or whither they go.”—p. 120.

Similarly the earth's surface is the scene of unaccountable appearances and disappearances. Pools of water are formed by the rain, and presently vanish; a fog creeps over the ground and also disappears; while now and then strange and mysterious sights, such as waterspouts at sea, sand whirlwinds in the desert, the mirage, *fata morgana*, and “*Brocken spectre*,” present themselves to the astonished gaze of the primitive man.

“Once more, let us ask what must be the original conception of wind? Consider the facts apart from hypothesis, and the implication which every breeze or gust carries with it, is that of a power neither visible nor tangible. Nothing in early experiences yields the idea of air, as we are now familiar with it; and, indeed, probably most can recall the difficulty they once had in thinking of the surrounding medium as a material substance. The primitive man cannot regard it as a something which acts as do the things he sees and handles. Into this seemingly empty space around, there from time to time comes an invisible agent which bends the trees, drives along the leaves, disturbs the water; and which he feels moving his hair, fanning his cheek, and now and then pushing his body with a force he has some difficulty in overcoming. What may be the nature of this agent there is nothing to tell him; but one thing is irresistibly thrust on his consciousness, that sounds can be made, things about him can be moved, and he himself can be buffeted, by an existence he can neither grasp nor see.”—pp. 121, 122.

Now comes the important question, what are the primitive beliefs that arise out of these experiences of the inorganic world?

“A clue to the answer will be furnished by recalling certain remarks of young children. When an image from the magic lantern, thrown on a screen, suddenly disappears on withdrawal of the slide, or when the reflection of the

looking glass, cast for a child's amusement on the wall or ceiling, is made to vanish by changing the attitude of the glass, the child asks, where is it gone to? The notion arising in its mind is not that this something no longer seen has become non-existent, but that it has become non-apparent; and it is led to think this by daily observing persons disappear behind adjacent objects, by seeing things put away out of sight, and by now and again finding a toy that had been hidden or lost. Similarly, the primitive idea is that these various existences now manifest themselves and now conceal themselves. As the animal which he has wounded hides itself in the brushwood, and if it cannot be found is supposed by the savage to have escaped in some incomprehensible way, but to be still existing; so in the absence of accumulated and organized knowledge, the implication of all these experiences is, that many of the things above and around pass often from visibility to invisibility and conversely. . . . It remains only to be pointed out that along with this conception of a visible condition and an invisible condition, which each of these many things has, there comes the conception of duality. Each of them is in a sense double; since it has these two complementary modes of being."—pp. 122, 123.

We have been somewhat minute in our account of how these various phenomena of nature must affect the primitive man, as it seems necessary to bring out fully and clearly what is really the basis of all subsequent religious beliefs; and we have quoted rather largely from Mr. Spencer's book, as the passages quoted are good specimens of his style, both of thought and expression—showing his ability to enter into alien states of mind, and giving clearly and with great power of illustration the results obtained by such a process.

We must give more briefly the substance of the rest of this important chapter of Mr. Spencer's work. Besides the facts already mentioned, there are a number of others which give rise in the savage mind to the belief that all kinds of things are able to, and actually do, from time to time change both their form and substance. The occasional discovery of fossilized animal and vegetable remains, the observation of the growth of trees and plants from seeds, and of birds from eggs, and of the metamorphoses which insects and reptiles undergo, force upon the primitive man the belief that any one thing may be changed into any other. How wide-spread and lasting must have been this belief in the indefinite possibility of metamorphosis or transmutation, we see from the way in which it constantly appears in the mythology and early literature of all nations, and from such facts as the recent popular belief that barnacle geese arise from barnacles, and the still common belief that decayed meat is actually transformed into maggots. This belief in the reality and frequency of material transformations also confirms the belief in the

dual nature of everything. Again, the phenomena of shadows and reflections must, in the absence of any scientific explanation, give rise to the belief in them as distinct entities, that at times make their appearance and accompany men, animals, and even lifeless objects; while from their appearing and disappearing at different times, they also tend to confirm this notion of the duality of everything. Echoes carry the belief still further; as they suggest the notion that invisible and intangible beings haunt the hills and the valleys, who make themselves known only by their voices. Thus, then, as Mr. Spencer sums up at the conclusion of his chapter on "Primitive Ideas,"

"To a mind unfurnished with any ideas save those of its own gathering, surrounding nature presents multitudinous cases of seemingly arbitrary change—now alight and slow, now gradual and great, now sudden and extreme. In the sky and on the earth, things make their appearance and disappear; and there is nothing to show why they do so. Here on the surface, and there deeply embedded in the ground are things that have been transmuted in substance—changed from flesh to stone, from wood to flint. Living bodies on all sides exemplify metamorphosis in ways marvellous enough to the instructed, and to the primitive man quite incomprehensible. And this protean character which so many things around him exhibit, and which familiarize him with the notion that there are two or more inter-changeable states of existence, is again impressed on him by such phenomena as shadows, reflections, and echoes."—p. 135.

In the next chapter, entitled "On the Ideas of the Animate and Inanimate," Mr. Spencer discusses a very important question—Could primitive man distinguish between these two classes of objects, the living and the not living? He considers that he could, and that the widely-spread phase of belief which is known as fetishism, involving, as it admittedly does, a confusion between the two, and a worship of inanimate as well as of animate objects, is a later growth—something superadded to the really primary beliefs of the savage man. Mr. Spencer is here at issue with the usually received theory on this subject, that which has been perhaps most fully elaborated by Auguste Comte, namely, that fetishism was the earliest form of religious belief and worship—that primitive man was at first really unable to distinguish between the living and the not living.

As our object in this article is less to criticise than to expound Mr. Spencer's views—we shall only say in passing that we think he has hardly discussed this important question as fully as it deserved, or as he usually discusses the various questions with

which he deals—and that this part of his theory will probably require a good deal of re-examination and modification before it can be accepted as the final decision of science upon the subject. We have next to inquire what is the effect produced upon the primitive man by the phenomena of sleep and dreams. The result arrived at is that they produce in him a belief that he too, in common with everything else, has a twofold existence. Having no scientific explanation of dreaming, he naturally and inevitably believes that he has really been to the places, seen the people, and done the deeds that he has dreamt of. How can he possibly believe otherwise? In the absence of our knowledge and experience, and with the imperfect language at his command, what other explanation can he give of these phenomena, than that they are actual experiences? It is true that other people can testify to the fact of his body remaining motionless in the place where he went to sleep, during the time when his supposed adventures took place; but this only confirms the notion that he has a double existence—that a something goes out of him during sleep, and wanders away into places and among people, some of which are familiar and some unfamiliar to him. We are able to show that as a matter of fact all the savage races of whom we have sufficient knowledge have actually held this belief.

“Schoolcraft tells us that the North American Indians in general think ‘there are duplicate souls, one of which remains with the body, while the other is free to depart on excursions during sleep’; and, according to Crantz, the Greenlanders believe ‘that the soul can forsake the body during the interval of sleep.’ Thomson says the New Zealanders believed ‘that during sleep the mind left the body, and that dreams are the objects seen during its wanderings’; and in Fiji ‘it is believed that the spirit of a man who still lives will leave the body to trouble other people when asleep.’”—p. 150.

These are only a few of the examples given by Mr. Spencer; but they serve to show that his theory, besides being highly probable, *a priori*, is confirmed by an appeal to facts. We may add that somnambulism, when it occurs, confirms this belief in the reality of dream experiences, since a man actually does get up in his sleep, move about, and occasionally perform actions of some kind. One of the most important results of the belief in the reality of dreams is that it produces a belief in the continued existence of persons who are dead and buried; or we should rather say it confirms the belief which, as we shall presently see, is otherwise established, in their continued existence. Finally, dream experiences confirm the belief which we have already seen is held by the

primitive man, in the arbitrary and irregular nature of the changes which go on around him. As in his dream experiences he finds transformations and metamorphoses of all kinds happening, and the ordinary incidents of his life altogether transcended, he is prepared to believe that similar transformations and extraordinary incidents may also happen in the waking world, though as a rule they do not. Thus the erroneous beliefs which we have already seen are established in the mind of the primitive man by the ordinary phenomena of Nature, are confirmed and strengthened by the, to him, equally real experience of his dreams. In addition to the everyday facts of sleep and dreams, the savage has also forced upon him the less frequent occurrence of divers forms of insensibility—such as swoon, apoplexy, epilepsy, catalepsy, &c., which last for various lengths of time, from a few minutes to many days. These confirm his belief that he has a double or second self, which at times wanders forth from his body into other places. We have not space to quote the examples given by Mr. Spencer to show that these abnormal phenomena are so interpreted by various savage races. But we may allude to the still common expressions applied to one who has recovered from a fainting fit, "He has come to himself again;" "She has returned to herself," as being survivals of a period of belief similar to that now held by savages. The most significant fact, however, in connection with these phenomena is—

"That states of insensibility follow deep wounds and violent blows. Though for other losses of consciousness the savage saw no antecedents, yet for each of these the obvious antecedent was the act of an enemy, and this act of an enemy produced variable results. Now, the injured man shortly returned to himself and did not go away again; and now, returning to himself only after a long absence, he presently deserted his body for an indefinite time. Lastly, instead of these temporary returns followed by final absence, there now and then occurred cases in which a violent blow caused continuous absence from the first; the other self was not perceived to come back at all."—p. 165.

This brings us to the important question, what notion does the primitive man form of death? And here there is abundant evidence to show, what the foregoing statements will have rendered highly probable, that savage races have no notion of it as a complete and final cessation of all the actions that constitute life; but merely look upon it as a state of insensibility of indefinite length—longer than usual, but still to be followed sooner or later by the "return to himself" of him who has taken such a prolonged departure. The Bushmen have a proverb, "Death is only a sleep." And with

regard to the Tasmanians, Bonwick tells us—"When I asked Mungo the reason of the spear being stuck in the tomb, he replied quietly, 'To fight with when he is asleep!'" In this primitive conception of death we have the germ of the belief in resurrection, in the ultimate return to life again of those who are dead. And in order to show how deeply rooted and wide-spread is the belief we have only to look at the numerous primitive customs to which it has given rise. First of all we have attempts made to revive the corpse by beating it. Then there is the common practice of talking to it. "The Fijian thinks that calling sometimes brings back the other self at death;" Cruickshank tells us that the Fantees addressed the corpse "sometimes in accents of reproach for leaving them, at others beseeching his spirit to watch over and protect them from evil;" and Caillé says of the Bagos that "a dead man's relations come and talk to him under the idea that he hears what they say." Then we have the custom of leaving food and drink at the burial places of the dead—a custom so well known that we need not quote examples of it. And as in some cases the insensible revive after a considerable lapse of time, we find it a practice among many tribes to replace the food and drink with fresh supplies, for a lengthened period. Similar to this is the custom of lighting fires at the tomb to enable the body to warm itself when it recovers consciousness. Another result of this belief in the return to life of the buried corpse, is the great care which is taken not to injure the body in any way; and the belief that if it is destroyed there can be no revival. This gives rise to two important series of customs; one being the artificial preservation of the body by embalming, and the other the almost universal practice of placing a heap of stones over the corpse to protect it from beasts and birds of prey. This custom of erecting tombs for the reception of the dead culminated, as is well known, in the gigantic pyramids of Egypt and Mexico.

"All these various observances then, imply the conviction that death is a long-suspended animation. The endeavours to revive the corpse by ill-usage; the calling it by name, and addressing to it reproaches or enquiries; the endeavours to feed it, and the leaving with it food and drink; the measures taken to prevent its discomfort from pressure and impediments to breathing; the supplying of fire to cook by, or to keep off cold; the care taken to prevent injury by wild beasts, and to arrest decay; and even these various self-injuries symbolizing subordination all unite to show this belief."—p. 182.

Mr. Spencer after mentioning various instances of the direct

avowal of this belief in the resurrection of the dead among savage races, goes on to say :—

“Just noting past exhibitions of this belief among higher races, such as the fact that in Moslem law prophets, martyrs, and saints are not supposed to be dead ; their property therefore remains their own ; and such as the fact that in Christian Europe distinguished men, from Charlemagne down to the first Napoleon, have been expected to reappear ; let us note the still existing form of this belief. It differs from the primitive belief less than we suppose. I do not merely mean that in saying ‘by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin,’ the current creed implies that death is not a natural event ; just as clearly as do the savage creeds which ascribe death to some difference of opinion among the gods, or disregard of their directions. Nor do I refer to the further facts that in our State Prayer-Book, bodily resurrection is unhesitatingly asserted ; and that poems of more modern date contain detailed descriptions of the dead rising again. I have in view facts showing that, even still, many avow this belief as clearly as it was lately avowed by a leading ecclesiastic. On July 5th, 1874, the Bishop of Lincoln preached against cremation, as tending to undermine the faith of mankind in a bodily resurrection. Not only in common with the primitive man, does Dr. Wordsworth hold that the body of each buried person will be resuscitated, but he also holds in common with the primitive man, that destruction of the body will prevent resuscitation. And now observe, finally, the kind of modification through which the civilized belief in resurrection is made partially unlike the savage belief. There is no abandonment of it ; the anticipated event is simply postponed. Supernaturalism gradually discredited by science transfers its supernatural occurrences to remoter places in time or space. As believers in special creations suppose them to happen, not where we are, but in distant parts of the world ; as miracles, admitted not to take place now, are said to have taken place during a past dispensation ; so re-animation of the body, no longer expected as immediate, is expected at an indefinitely far-off time. The idea of death differentiates slowly from the idea of temporary insensibility. At first re-animation is looked for in a few hours, or in a few days, or in a few years ; and gradually as death becomes more definitely conceived, re-animation is not looked for till the end of all things.”—pp. 183-184.

This belief in the resurrection of the dead necessarily leads to some belief as to the mode of life led by all those who have somewhere come to life again ; and as to the nature of the habitat where this life is spent. And there is abundant evidence to show, what might reasonably be inferred, that in the beginning primitive man believed that the other life was like this life, and the other world like this world. As he advanced, however, in knowledge and civilization, his conceptions of the other life and the other world came to diverge more and more from this life and this world. The life diverged

“By becoming less material ; by becoming more unlike in its occupations ; by

having another kind of social order ; by presenting gratifications more remote from those of the senses ; and by the higher standard of conduct it assumes."—p. 215.

While similarly—

"The ideas of another world pass through stages of development. The habitat of the dead, originally conceived as coinciding with that of the living, gradually diverges—here to the adjacent forest, there to the remoter forest, and elsewhere to distant hills and mountains. The belief that the dead rejoin their ancestors, leads to further divergences, which vary according to the condition. . . . Finally, where the places for the departed or for superior classes of beings are mountain tops, there is a transition to an abode in the heavens ; which, at first near and definite, passes into the remote and indefinite. So that the supposed residence for the dead, coinciding at first with the residence of the living, is little by little removed in thought ; distance and direction grow increasingly vague, and finally the localization disappears in space. All these conceptions then, which have their root in the primitive idea of death, simultaneously undergo like progressive modifications. Resurrection once looked for as immediate, is postponed indefinitely ; the ghost, originally conceived as quite substantial, fades into ethereality ; the other life, which at first repeated this exactly, becomes more and more unlike it ; and its place, from a completely-known adjacent spot, passes to a somewhere unknown and unimagined."—pp. 232, 233.

It will already be obvious that the belief in ghosts, souls, spirits, demons, has originated in the belief that the dead return to life again—which belief is confirmed by the appearance in dreams of those who are dead. From this belief there arise various others, springing naturally from it. In the first place there arises the distinction between good and evil spirits, the ghosts of friends and of enemies, and consequently the different practices of prayer, propitiation, and exorcism. This last-named practice, in fact the entire art of magic, witchcraft, necromancy, &c., is more particularly developed by the belief that evil spirits, swarming everywhere, are constantly entering into men and producing not merely such trifling actions as sneezing, yawning, hiccoughing, which are involuntary on the part of the individual, but all diseases and even death. Here then we see the origin, alike of the old custom, continued down to our own time, of saying "God bless you" to one who sneezes ; and of the modern practices of the spiritualist medium who invokes the spirits of the dead and living by means of tables and planchettes. To sum up this part of the argument, in the words of Mr. Spencer, out of this belief—

"And these observances, come all forms of worship. The awe of the ghost makes sacred the sheltering place of the tomb, and this grows into the temple ;

while the tomb itself becomes the altar. From provisions placed for the dead, now habitually and now at fixed intervals, arise religious oblations, ordinary and extraordinary—daily and at festivals. Immolations and mutilations at the grave pass into sacrifices and offerings of blood at the altar of a deity. Abstinence from food for the benefit of the ghost, develops into fasting as a pious practice ; and journeys to the grave with gifts, become pilgrimages to the shrine. Praises of the dead and prayers to them grow into religious praises and prayers. And so every religious rite is derived from a funeral rite." (p. 446.)

Mr. Spencer next deals with a very important and much discussed question—ancestor worship. His view is that this form of worship, which he considers to be the root of every religion, is a development of the worship of ancestral ghosts ; and he gives a vast mass of evidence to show that this is the case, and also to prove the universality of ancestor worship. This leads to the enquiry, whether the ghost is not the germ of all supernatural beings—a question which he answers in the affirmative. He then endeavours to show that such strange forms of worship as that of animals, plants, and natural phenomena generally, are all transformations of ancestor worship. We shall perhaps best give his arguments on this subject by quoting from his own summary of them, in the final chapter of this part of his work, entitled "The Primitive Theory of Things."

"Actual and apparent metamorphoses occurring in the experiences of the savage encourage belief in metamorphoses when anything suggests it : all races showing us that the transformation of men into animals and of animals into men is a familiar thought. Hence house-haunting creatures are supposed to be the dead returned in new shapes ; and creatures which frequent the burial place are taken for other disguises which souls put on. Further, the widely prevalent habit of naming men after animals, leads, by the inevitable misinterpretation of traditions, to beliefs in descent from animals. And thus the sacred animal, now treated with exceptional respect, now propitiated, now worshipped, acquires its divine character by identification with an ancestor, near or remote. Similarly with plant worship. In every case this is the worship of a spirit originally human, supposed to be contained in the plant—supposed either because of the exciting effects of its products ; or because misapprehended tradition raises the belief that the race descended from it ; or because a misinterpreted name identifies it with an ancestor. Everywhere the propitiated plant spirit is shown by its conceived human form, and ascribed human desires, to have originated from a human personality. Even worship of the greater objects and powers in Nature proves to have the same root. When it marks the place whence the race came, a mountain is described in tradition as the source or parent of the race, as is probably the sea in some cases ; and both also give family names ; worship of them as ancestors thus arising in two ways. Facts imply that the conception of the dawn as a person, results from the giving of dawn as a birth-name. The personalization of stars and of constellations, we found associated among inferior races with the belief that they are men and animals who once lived on the earth. So,

too, is it with the Moon. Traditions of people in low stages tell of the Moon as having been originally a man or woman; and the Moon is still a source of birth-names among the uncivilized: the implication being that reverence for it is reverence for a departed person. Lastly, worship of the Sun is derived in two ways from ancestor-worship. Here conquerors coming from the region of sunrise, and therefore called "children of the Sun," come to regard the Sun as ancestor; and there the Sun is a metaphorical name given to an individual, either because of his appearance or because of his achievements, or because of his exalted position; whence identification with the Sun in tradition and consequent Sun worship.

Besides these aberrant developments of ancestor worship which result from identification of ancestors with idols, animals, plants, and natural powers, there are direct developments of it. Out of the assemblage of ghosts, some evolve into deities who retain their anthropomorphic characters. As the divine and the superior are, in the primitive mind, equivalent ideas—as the living man and reappearing ghost are at first confounded in his beliefs—as ghost and god are originally convertible terms; we may understand how the deity develops out of the powerful man, and the ghost of the powerful man, by small steps. Within the tribe the chief, the magician, or the man otherwise skilled, held in awe during his life as showing powers of unknown origin and extent, is feared in a higher degree when, after death, he gains the further powers possessed by all ghosts; and still more the stranger bringing new arts, as well as the conqueror of superior race, is treated as a superhuman being during life and afterwards worshipped as a yet greater superhuman being. Remembering that the most marvellous version of any story habitually obtains the greatest currency, and that so, from generation, to generation, the deeds of such traditional persons must grow by unchecked exaggerations eagerly listened to; we may see that in time any amount of expansion and idealization can be reached. Thus it becomes manifest that setting out with the wandering double which the dream suggests; passing to the double that goes away at death; advancing from this ghost, at first supposed to have but a transitory second life, to ghosts which exist permanently and therefore accumulate; the primitive man is led gradually to people surrounding space with supernatural beings which inevitably become in his mind causal agents for everything unfamiliar. And in consistently carrying out the mode of interpretation initiated in this way, he is committed to the ever-multiplying superstitions we have traced out."—pp. 448 to 450.

It will be seen from the foregoing extract, that Mr. Spencer differs from the comparative mythologists as to the origin of nature worship. They consider that primitive man began by worshipping natural objects; and afterwards, as his knowledge of them increased, came to think that what he worshipped were beings with more or less of human attributes. Hence natural objects became transformed into anthropomorphic deities. Mr. Spencer, on the contrary, thinks that primitive man originally worshipped only his ancestors or ancestral ghosts; and through the misapprehensions above explained, came to believe that natural

objects were transformed ancestors—that is, transformed human beings. We shall not venture to pronounce an opinion as to the relative correctness of these two different theories. The question must be left to be fought out between Mr. Spencer and the comparative mythologists, who will no doubt before long take up arms in defence of their view of the question. It will probably turn out that, as is usually the case in conflicting scientific theories, neither party is absolutely right, but that a portion of the truth is to be found on each side—and that a reconciliation between the two theories is quite possible. However this may be, and however much we may feel inclined to dispute some of Mr. Spencer's views, it must at least be admitted that on this subject he has put forward a theory as to the origin, growth, and development of religious belief, which for comprehensiveness, coherence, and thorough conformity to scientific methods has never been equalled or approached. He has shown how all the leading religious doctrines, the belief in supernatural beings, in souls, and in a future state of existence, have sprung from the primitive beliefs which were forced upon our remote ancestors by the contemplation of the natural phenomena around them. Whether these doctrines can be justified at the present day, and in face of the great advances which are constantly being made in every department of science, the future alone can determine; but one argument in their favour, which has been used over and over again, will, in the presence of Mr. Spencer's theory, have to be abandoned. That is, that these beliefs must be true, because they have been held always, and by every race of men with which we are acquainted. It is obvious that if Mr. Spencer's explanation is the correct one, they must have been held always and everywhere—simply because primitive man has been always and everywhere in the midst of like circumstances, and therefore like beliefs must have grown up in his mind. It is simply a question of finding the common cause of a number of like effects—and no more proves the truth of the beliefs themselves than does the universal belief in ghosts almost up to our own time prove the reality of their existence. If it be said that a great many of the primitive beliefs have now disappeared and that only a few, and those greatly modified, are left; and that these will stand unchanged amidst all future changes that may take place in the mind of man and in his physical surroundings—it can be answered, that after tracing the progressive changes through which man's religious beliefs have passed, from his first appearance upon the earth as a rational being possessing the use

of language, to the present time—it seems in the highest degree improbable that his religious beliefs will henceforth remain unchanged and unchangeable. As a matter of fact we can see that they are changing every year; and probably no work of our time will give a greater impetus to future changes, than that we are now reviewing.

We have left unnoticed many questions of great importance that are discussed in its pages, and we are aware that we have not done justice to those portions of it that we have attempted to deal with; but the subject is so vast, that it is almost impossible to condense it into a short article. Those, therefore, who desire to thoroughly master its contents must carefully peruse the book itself, and if they do so they may rest assured that their labour will not go unrewarded.

NOTE.—Since the foregoing pages went to press, the April number of the English Quarterly periodical *Mind*, has come to hand, containing a criticism of the same part of Mr. Spencer's work that is here reviewed, by a writer who, on account of his own original researches on the subject, is perhaps better entitled to pronounce an opinion upon it than any other, Mr. E. B. Tylor. After stating his general agreement with the theory put forward by Mr. Spencer, he remarks :—

“ On this view of Primitive Animism, the general belief in souls and deities is not ultimately derived from occult tendencies in man or revelations to man, but is based on the philosophy of remote rude ages, whose doctrine has been only more or less modified in modern theologies. It need hardly be said that such a view of the origin of fundamental theological ideas is revolutionary. If it, or anything like it, can be proved to the satisfaction of the educated world to be the true view, then the generally received systems of theology must either be developed into systems more in harmony with modern knowledge, or they must after a time be superseded and fall into decay.”

While agreeing on the whole with Mr. Spencer, Mr. Tylor differs from him considerably on several questions of detail, and among others on those two on which we have ventured to suggest that Mr. Spencer may not be altogether sound, namely, the origin of fetishism, and the explanation of nature myths. After stating some of his objections, Mr. Tylor concludes thus :—

“ My object in so often taking the line of a fault-finder is mainly this. As yet there is but a limited number of students who seriously occupy themselves with the problem of the development of religious ideas as viewed from the

ethnological standing-point. Probably in a few years' time public interest in this great problem will be much wider and deeper, a result to which the present work must largely contribute. When this happens a vast controversy will no doubt set in, for which it will be advantageous to ethnologists to be well prepared before hand. The previous interval may, therefore, be well turned to account in settling discrepancies as to subordinate points, so that the weaker parts of the theory of animistic development may be cut out and their places supplied with stronger evidence and reasoning."

A. M. TOPP.

OUR UNSEEN ENEMIES.

ALL things are subject to change. Whatever branch of physical or natural science we study, whatever class of objects we observe, the trite maxim holds good. Even the great natural features of the earth's surface become completely altered if sufficient time is allowed. Land becomes sea, and sea land; and the hardest rocks must yield to the slow but unceasing action of the disintegrating forces of heat and cold, of air and water. But it is especially when we study the history of living beings, whether animal or vegetable, that this ceaseless tendency to change forces itself on our attention. They are constantly taking up new material and incorporating it with their structures to replace what is as constantly given off, after having served its purpose in the economy. But the time comes when every living being has done its work, and dies. Then changes of a new and more obvious kind begin. It falls a prey to destructive processes on a large scale, which soon completely alter its appearance, and finally put an end to its independent existence. When a tree dies it may long stand bare and bleached; but in time it crumbles to pieces, and gives back to the earth the elements once borrowed from it. When an animal dies, though its body be protected from the attacks of birds or beasts, it rapidly undergoes decomposition; its complicated structures become confused; it gradually softens and disappears, giving back to the air and to the kindly bosom of Mother Earth the elements which for a time they had lent to it. Even in simpler materials we see the same tendency. If some natural sweet juice, such as the juice of the grape, is exposed to the air, changes soon begin to take place in it; bubbles of gas rise to the surface; taste and smell alter completely, and in course of time what was a rich sweet juice becomes only a turbid and almost tasteless fluid.

In these instances which have just been adduced, we have examples of three processes, which have received distinguishing names. In the crumbling away of the tree, we have what is described by the term *decay*; in the decomposition of the animal's body, what is called *putrefaction*; and in the sweet juice, *fermentation*. No doubt the changes going on in these instances are, in appearance, very different, and therefore the use of different names, by which to distinguish them, has its value. The differences are,

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however, only in appearance, the processes being in their nature essentially the same. They are all really caused, wholly or in great part, by the growth, in the decaying, putrefying, or fermenting substances, of minute vegetable organisms, which not only live, grow, and multiply at its expense, but act on it mechanically or chemically, tearing asunder its complicated structures, and reducing to simpler kinds the elaborate chemical compounds which it contains. The three examples given are well marked instances of the processes just named, but the distinction cannot be always consistently carried out. They may occur in combination, and sometimes it is not even easy to tell which of them we have to do with. The character of the destructive process will vary with the chemical composition of the body subjected to it, and with the outward conditions, such as the amount of moisture present, the temperature, and the freedom with which the air finds access to it. The essential thing, however, as was already said, is the presence of minute vegetable organisms, to the growth of which the conditions may be favorable or unfavorable.

So far as we have gone, the processes described, though in their nature destructive, may from one point of view be regarded as in the main useful. If dead trees and other vegetable structures did not decay; if the dead bodies of animals did not disappear under the influence of putrefaction, there would soon not be room for their successors. Unpleasant as the processes may often be to sight and smell, they are the less of two evils; and it might not improperly be said that the agents bringing them about are performing the useful office of scavengers, clearing the surface of the earth, and making it fit for the habitation of other plants and animals, and even preparing the materials to serve for their food. But the laws of nature are apt to be indiscriminating. In an advanced state of civilisation particularly, there are numberless things which we wish to preserve, but which are liable to rapid destruction under the influences mentioned. If the best use is to be got from the articles of food, clothing, and furniture, which we have multiplied, it becomes a necessity to investigate the nature of these destructive processes, that we may be able to prevent their occurrence when it suits our interests so to do. After many theories, more or less crude, have been ventilated, scientific men are now generally agreed that microscopic plants are the active agents. It is true that animals of various species are often found in decaying and putrid substances, and particularly the larvæ of insects; but they are regarded as only accidentally present, not instrumental in bringing

about the change, but merely benefitting by it. That most men of science are in agreement on this subject, there can be no doubt, though it must be said that there is not perfect unanimity even now. Liebig would never allow that the minute organisms found in putrefying and fermenting substances are the real cause of the peculiar changes going on in them, and gave an elaborate physico-chemical explanation of these processes; and there are still eminent names which can be reckoned on the same side. In spite of these exceptions it can be said that the evidence in favour of the vitalistic explanation is accepted by most authorities as conclusive. And, further, it is believed by most to be certain that the organisms found do not originate spontaneously, but are the direct descendants of similar organisms, the germs of which had been conveyed to the decomposing matter, generally by the air.

Proofs that dried organisms and their germs are always to be found floating in the air have been accumulated in abundance. When a ray of sunlight enters a dark room through a narrow opening, we see in it innumerable motes dancing up and down, and Professor Tyndall has beautifully illustrated this fact by means of the electric beam. He has further shown that these motes can be removed from the air by burning them. It is clear, therefore, that they are of organic nature mainly. It was, however, too hastily assumed on many hands (Tyndall himself not being sufficiently cautious at first in his inductions), that the existence of germs, and even of disease germs had been thus demonstrated. The proof that they were combustible showed only that they were particles of organic substances everywhere to be found, such as the articles of food, clothing, and furniture in constant use, and of decaying vegetable matters with which the surface of the earth is covered. Proof that germs exist among these motes must be of quite a different kind. Pasteur long ago caused a current of air to pass through a tube plugged with gun-cotton, so that, in its passage, the air would be filtered of the solid particles floating in it. The gun cotton was then dissolved in ether, and search made in the clear colodion solution thus obtained, by means of the microscope. Information was got in that way, but the method is subject to the great disadvantage, that delicate structures could not fail to be injured by such manipulations. Another method used is, to allow anything that may be suspended in the air to settle on glass plates coated with glycerine, and then examine microscopically for any solid particles which have adhered to the plates. Not satisfied with either of these plans, Professor

Cohn, of Breslau, has recently tried another way of obtaining the suspended particles. By means of an aspiration apparatus, he has made the air bubble through several successive vessels connected together, and containing a clear saline solution. In its passage the air is washed, and the sediment, which falls to the bottom of the vessels, can be examined. This method has various advantages. The things caught are not injured by any manipulations, or by the action of powerful agents, such as ether; and as the exact quantity of air passed through the apparatus can be determined, it is also possible to discover the actual and relative number of some at least of the different kinds of particles, germs, &c., contained in a given cubic space of the atmosphere. At the time of his last published report Cohn did not enter into any detailed account of the results attained. The only kinds of germs, which he had been able with accuracy to determine numerically, were those of the various moulds which are of such common occurrence on the surface of preserved fruit and similar articles. Of the germs or spores of these he reckoned that in the air of the rooms of the Botanic Institute at Breslau, there is one in rather more than two gallons. As experiments with all kinds of fungi are constantly going on, it is to be supposed that these spores are commoner in the air of the Institute than in the general body of the atmosphere, and it seems that the usual opinion about the enormous numbers everywhere floating about is an exaggeration.

It has been clearly shown, therefore, that germs of different sorts are actually contained in the atmosphere by which we are encompassed. It has been further shown, that if all floating particles are excluded from a putrescible substance, in which any organisms or their germs have previously been destroyed by the action of heat, no putrefaction occurs; even though the air, regarded merely as a mixture of gases, has free access. Taking these two circumstances into consideration, and guided by the analogy of the mode of reproduction in all cases in which it can with certainty be observed, naturalists are almost unanimously of opinion that spontaneous generation, or abiogenesis, *i.e.*, the doctrine that living beings can be produced from dead matter, is impossible; and that, independently of analogy, the supposed facts adduced in its favour are not of a trustworthy character. The following experiment, made by Pasteur, and repeated by Lister, is very striking. A number of glass flasks were partially filled with a fluid known to be very subject to putrefactive changes. The necks of all the flasks were drawn out into fine tubes.

The necks of some were bent several times at an angle, and others were left straight and erect. All the flasks were boiled for a few minutes, and then left standing. Of course, as they cooled, air must have entered all of them to fill up the partial vacuum; and with the regular diurnal changes of temperature there must have been a constant passage of air out and in. In a few days the fluid in the straight-necked flasks had become turbid and offensive, whilst after two years that in those with bent necks was quite clear and unchanged. The difference was susceptible of only one explanation; the solid particles found free entrance with the air through the straight necks, whilst they were caught in the angles of the bent ones. To make the demonstration, if possible, more absolute the narrow mouths of these bent flasks were hermetically sealed by melting the glass in a flame, and then a portion of the fluid shaken into the angles, where it very soon underwent the same changes as had been seen in the straight flasks. A similar difference of result is obtained if all the flasks are left with their necks straight, but some have their mouths carefully closed with a plug of cotton wadding, which does not prevent free interchange of air, only removing any solid particles after the manner of a filter. Again, as it is safe to presume, that all motes, however small, will subside in course of time if the air is kept perfectly still, Pasteur tried the effect of exposing flasks containing a clear decoction of yeast freely to the air of the caves of the Paris Observatory. Out of ten flasks, only one developed signs of life, while in eleven left in the open courtyard the fluid soon swarmed with organisms.*

Conclusive as these experiments look, they do not satisfy all, and among the followers of the doctrine of Abiogenesis is the indefatigable enthusiast, Dr. Charlton Bastian, who has applied an amazing amount of ingenuity and labour in trying to establish his position. Independently of carelessness, and of errors in the way of misinterpretation of objects examined with the help of the microscope, experiments designed to show the spontaneous origin of small organisms are liable to many fallacies. Thus dried germs seem to bear a considerably higher temperature than 212° F. without being killed; and whilst in clear solutions boiling for a very short time kills all or almost all of them, it appears that if any of them are embedded in solid matter, such as a fragment of cheese, either a considerably greater heat, or long continued boiling is needed to insure their destruction. Considerations such as these explain many

* Similar experiments, but carried out in a more exact way by the help of Tyndall's observations on moteless air, have confirmed these results.

observations which seemed to indicate the possibility at least of the spontaneous origin of living organisms. We are by no means certain, however, that conditions incompatible with life in higher organisms are necessarily as prejudicial to the lowest forms. Sulphuretted hydrogen has generally been regarded as absolutely poisonous to plants and animals of all kinds, but Cohn has recently found minute organisms belonging to the genus *Beggiatoa*, growing actively in natural waters saturated with that gas, and he is even of opinion that they are the manufacturers of it.

It was remarked before, that nature is indiscriminating in the administration of her laws, and yet, to superficial observation, she sometimes appears to be inconsistent, if not contradictory in her operations. Animal matters exposed to the air usually undergo putrefaction; but, under certain natural conditions, such is not the case. In the beginning of the present century the body of a mammoth was found in Siberia, in such a state of preservation that its flesh was used for feeding dogs. Certainly for hundreds, perhaps for thousands of years it had lain covered with snow and ice, and still decomposition had not occurred. Under very different conditions the same absence of putrefaction may be found. Thus Palgrave, in his book on "Central and Eastern Arabia," speaks of "putrefaction being effectually anticipated by the parching influence of the air, which renders a carcase of three or four days standing as inoffensive to the nose as a leather drum." It follows then from these observations, and from the experiments previously described, that the most destructible articles can be protected from putrefaction or fermentation in three quite different ways; and all of them have been brought into practical application in the interests of economic science. The first is that which is now adopted, on a large scale, for the preservation of meat, fruit, and other articles, viz., by putting them into some vessel, such as a tin or bottle, heating them strongly, and then hermetically sealing up in some way the opening. The germs or organisms, which may happen to exist in or on the things to be preserved, are destroyed, and fresh ones cannot find admission. The second method is that of keeping the articles constantly exposed to a very low temperature. It is not absolutely necessary, in order to prevent putrefaction, that the meat or other articles be kept at the freezing point; as exact observations have shown that the organisms, supposed to be the active agents in bringing it about, if not killed, are at any rate unable to grow at temperatures under 41° F. By this method meat is now conveyed safely from

America to England, and arrangements are being made for carrying on a similar trade from these colonies to London. But just as these putrefactive organisms cannot grow, having sufficient moisture, if the temperature is too low, so, with the most favourable temperature, they cannot thrive in the absence of moisture. The third method is based on this fact. What happens naturally in the parched deserts of Arabia, has been done intentionally from the remotest times, and is done now, without any theory; and thus in a cheap way many articles, such as fish, gelatine, fruit, can be preserved for an indefinite time in the dried form. By these three methods, perishable articles can be preserved without the addition of any foreign matter. Preservation by means of chemicals of different sorts introduces new considerations, and would lead too far if considered at length. It can only be said, that they all act in their several ways by preventing the multiplications of the destructive organisms in the articles which it is wished to preserve.

It has already been said that all the changes produced in organic matters by the action of minute parasitic plants, are in their essence destructive, not only because of what they consume for the purposes of growth and multiplication, but also on account of their decomposing action on ingredients which they do not consume themselves, merely reducing complex chemical substances to simpler ones. The benefits derived, by man especially, from those processes which we have compared with scavenging operations, are clear and unmistakeable. But there are other instances of their action, which have only what may be called a conventional usefulness. Fermentation is a marked example of these. The yeast plant appropriates to its own use some of the elements of the fruit juice, or infusion of malt, on which it operates, and thereby causes a loss; but it also decomposes the sugar, converting it into alcohol and carbonic acid gas, the latter generally escaping into the air. The result is, that in the fermented fluid there is considerably less nutritive matter than there was before. However, alcohol has a special value, and as it can be got only by the way of fermentation, men intentionally set that process at work, and gladly submit to some waste of commoner materials in order to obtain it, just as they submit to the waste of fuel in the making of gas, knowing that they cannot get it on any other terms. In addition to alcoholic fermentation, there are some other changes of a less understood kind, which have also a conventional value. Ripe

cheese has a higher market value than that which is freshly made. It is not that the ripe cheese has more nutritive properties than the fresh, but that we prefer the piquant taste and smell. These are not obtained however without loss, since Cohn has found that during the whole process of ripening there is a constant passing off of gas, so that the process is really a kind of fermentation, due to the presence and activity of some zymophyte.

There are, however, certain influences, which man cannot be brought to believe, are either really or conventionally beneficial, and these are the operations carried on by minute organisms in his own body. It has long been a theory, that many diseases are caused by such organisms finding a settlement on or in the bodies of men or other animals, and there producing irritative or destructive effects of some sort. Till recently the opinions even of enlightened physicians on this subject were of a very vague kind; but now the laborious investigations of botanists and pathologists have thrown a flood of light on many obscure diseases. Many skin diseases are caused by parasites, and with few exceptions such as scabies, which is caused by an insect, they are due to the presence of vegetable organisms resembling in many respects the moulds which grow on bread, cheese, fruit, &c. They are fungi, having considerable distinction of parts and well-marked organs of reproduction, resembling on a small scale fruit capsules filled with seeds. Having what may be called roots, stems, and fruit, they belong to a relatively high order of plants, and therefore their life history can be traced with comparative ease, and so there is little room for difference of opinion as to the nature of the diseases which they cause.

It is different, however, with certain other diseases, which affect the general system, notably the ordinary epidemic diseases, such as measles and scarlet fever. From the earliest period their peculiar character has attracted special attention, and in particular the regularity observed in their rise, duration, and decline, easily led to a comparison of their symptoms with the phenomena of fermentation. Hence the name by which they are still generally known, zymotic diseases, *i.e.*, diseases due to fermentation. The comparison cannot be carried out into its details, and in fact it is questionable whether the phenomena or symptoms of these diseases are mainly or essentially of the nature of fermentation. It is, at least, probable that they are not due (in addition to the mere increase of the ferment) to the destruction by chemical change, of some important ingredient of the blood, or of

the body in general, as sugar is destroyed in the alcoholic fermentation. If this were the case, it would imply that the agents causing the various zymotic diseases can produce such a different train of symptoms only on the supposition that each acts on a different ingredient of the body, or that they produce different chemical changes in the same ingredient. Neither of these suppositions is at all a probable one, and it is more likely that the organisms, which are the cause of each disease, produce their effects, partly by the irritation occasioned by their mere presence as foreign bodies in vast numbers, which would be common to all of them; and partly by forming some specific poison in the system, which would be the cause of those symptoms which each disease has peculiar to itself. There is no difficulty in the belief that the organisms may manufacture some chemical compound which will act as a poison, since it is well known that organisms of a somewhat similar kind form colouring matters, red, blue, and violet; and, as was before stated, Cohn believes that the poisonous sulphuretted hydrogen in some natural waters is formed by the vital activity of one or more species of microscopic plants. Of course the poisons, which on this hypothesis are formed in cases of these zymotic diseases, have not been detected; but chemistry is not a perfect science, and the physiological branch of it hardly beyond its infancy; and, therefore, only theoretical considerations can be adduced in favour of their existence. It must be supposed that, if such poisons are formed in the body, they increase in amount in direct proportion to the multiplication of the organisms producing them; and further, that when the organisms cease to multiply and die, and are cast off in some way, the poisons also diminish in amount, either being consumed by a process of oxidation like other organic matters in the system, or carried off in the natural secretions. Why the organisms in these diseases cease to multiply at all, instead of continuing their destructive action on the blood and other parts of the body to which they have found admission, just as under ordinary circumstances putrefaction goes on until it destroys the material on which it is operating; why, in fact, all cases of these zymotic diseases do not prove fatal is a real difficulty. It may be supposed that the body, in virtue of its vital properties, keeps up a struggle with the invading enemy, and generally succeeds in driving them out, a fatal result following only when its vitality is low, or when the invading host is so numerous or active that resistance is impossible. Till we know more about the matter in an exact way we can only indulge

in speculations, which may be interesting, if not valuable, and need not do harm so long as they are kept in their place. The wide gaps in the scientific history of zymotic diseases may be filled up some day, when medicine and the sciences accessory to it have become much more exact than they now are.

After this theoretical digression it is time to return to the organisms themselves, which are the supposed *vera causa* of zymotic diseases. They are not properly called fungi, belonging to a lower order of plants, in which each individual consists of a single cell. They are with difficulty classified, and according to Cohn, the great authority in this branch of botany, are best brought together under the term schizophytes, meaning plants which multiply by self-division, each individual separating into two portions, both of which become new perfect organisms. Some of them have spores or germs, but this has not been shown with reference to others of them. The name bacteria has gradually been applied to all of them, though properly *bacterium* is only one genus of many into which these schizophytes are subdivided. It is impossible to enter into details of the reasons for and against the view that bacteria are the cause of many acute contagious diseases. That an absolute demonstration of their causal relation to such diseases has not yet been given is in great measure owing to the following circumstances. It is not possible to isolate them from other substances with which they are mixed, and therefore there always remains the doubt whether they are more than concomitants, always present in the diseases at some stage, but perhaps only accompanying the real cause. Again, a great difficulty in reference to some diseases is, that the bacteria found in them are in appearance identical with those seen in other diseases, and not only so, but they cannot be distinguished, as microscopic objects, from organisms seen in putrid processes in dead animal matter. In reply to this it must be said that if the organisms have different functions and produce different effects, it is certain that they must differ also in structure or composition, though the microscope cannot show wherein the difference consists. The difficulty really lies in the extraordinary minuteness of these organisms. Thus the round bacteria found in diphtheria, small-pox, pyæmia, and other diseases, and distinguished as *micrococci*, have a diameter of less than the twenty-five thousandth part ($\frac{1}{25,000}$) of an inch, some being even less than half that size. It is plain, therefore, that even the most powerful microscopes cannot yet be expected to distinguish differences in the structural arrangements of such

minute objects. It might further be supposed as inconceivable that the number of germs, which can possibly be contained in the amount of virus necessary to communicate a contagious disease, could multiply in a few days to such an extent that the whole blood and many other parts of a large animal should be swarming with living organisms. On this point a calculation made by Cohn is startling. He declares, that if all the conditions were favourable, a single bacterium, weighing the ten-millionth ($\frac{1}{10,000,000}$) part of a grain, might in the course of 48 hours increase to about a pound weight, and in 3 days to more than seven thousand (7000) tons. This statement, given on the authority of the man most competent to make such an estimate, must be taken as a very rough calculation, since it is not easy to see how all the elements necessary for determining the rate of increase can be ascertained. Allowing it to have even an approximation to accuracy, we may well congratulate ourselves that all the conditions are never perfectly favourable to the indefinite multiplication of bacteria, or all animals, and indeed all the organic matter in the world would soon be destroyed by them. The last difficulty to which reference need be made is this. If disease germs are generally diffused, are so minute, and increase so rapidly, there must be constant liability to error in the course of investigations. Were the organisms not a mere accidental contamination occurring after the death of the animal? If not, were they not quite an ordinary element in the blood or other part examined, increasing to an unusual degree owing to the weakness accompanying the disease? To obviate or establish these objections most elaborate precautions have been adopted, of which the following may be given as an example. For the purpose of obtaining blood free from any possible admixture, Professor Klebs, a famous German pathologist, prepared a number of long glass tubes having one end closed and the other drawn out to a fine point, though still open. These tubes were subjected to a strong, dry heat, both for the purpose of killing any germs they might contain; and of expelling the air contained in them. When hot the fine end was hermetically sealed by melting it in a flame. One of these tubes was made to pierce the jugular vein of an animal suffering from the disease he was investigating, and passed down to the heart, where the point was broken off. Blood rushed in to fill the partial vacuum in the tube, which was removed and sealed up again at once. This was done on a number of diseased, and also of perfectly healthy animals. The tubes were all preserved for a short time, and when examined all

those containing diseased blood showed large numbers of organisms, whilst the blood taken from healthy animals was free from them.

Investigations like these show the difficulty attaching to any discussion of questions concerning the pathology of contagion, and whilst the difficulties attending the subject explain the present insufficient state of our knowledge, the labour and skill now devoted to the task of removing them, encourage us to hope that light will soon be thrown on many departments which are still shrouded in darkness. And with increased light cast on the nature and causes of epidemic diseases, we may surely also hope that more effective measures for opposing their progress may be discovered, and that both the preventive and curative departments of medical science will benefit largely by researches, which to many may seem at present far-fetched and unpractical.

JAMES JAMIESON, M.D.

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE JUDGES.

THE anomalies of the Constitution have formed the theme and been subjected to the criticism of almost every historian of the British Empire. While the British are among nations the most tenacious of their rights and liberties, they are at the same time the most heedless of incongruities. John Bull is careless of symmetry or polish, so long as the structure has solidity and comfort. Numberless illustrations of this may be met in all parts of our constitution; but these anomalies, although they exist in theory to as great an extent in the mother country as in the colonies, do not for obvious reasons show themselves so glaring in the indigenous as in the transplanted tree. In the present short paper I purpose noticing one of these imperfections recently making itself apparent in the colonies and particularly in Victoria. I shall endeavour to point out its danger and suggest a remedy.

In all constitutions deserving the name, the three principal functions—law-making, law-interpreting, law-executing, in other words the Legislature, the Judiciary, the Executive—are kept distinct and independent of each other. The Judiciary is, to say the least, not inferior to either of the other two in importance. The *personnel* of those discharging its functions is therefore of the gravest importance. Unless those persons are upright we cannot expect them to be unbiassed. Unless they are erudite, we cannot expect soundness in their decisions; and unless they are not only both upright and erudite, but known to be both, we cannot expect the public to have that confidence in their judgments which compels the unsuccessful litigant to acquiesce in the learned impartiality of an irreproachable tribunal. It is of more importance that the Judiciary should be thought pure than that it should be so, and it is of more importance that the judgments of the Judiciary should be thought sound than that they should be so. So far as we successfully promote wisdom in the Bench, and its appreciation by the public, to that extent do we approach perfection in the Judiciary.

Let us consider the machinery existing in this country, and how it works as respects the production of the desired results. My remarks refer to the Supreme Court, which by its appellate jurisdiction keeps in control all the other courts, so that

the inferior ones take their colour from and are guided by the decisions of the Supreme Court. When an appointment is necessary to the latter, it is made nominally by the Governor-in-Council, but in reality by the Ministry in office at the time. Is there any guarantee that the Ministry of the day will select the man most fitted for the judicial seat? There is none whatever. There is a check—that of public opinion. But this check is so weak that it will hardly ever be sufficient to prevent a bad appointment, especially in view of the inducements to make appointments in the interests of the members of a ministry rather than in the interests of the public. The appointment by the Ministry, therefore, practically means leaving it with the Attorney-General, with power to appoint himself if he should so please. He will naturally be desirous of the office. His colleagues will be not only disposed to give but afraid to refuse it to him. Appointing him means another Ministerial office at their disposal, the judicious filling of which may quicken the zeal of friends or disarm the hostility of opponents. Refusal means the secession of a colleague and the future opposition of the slighted Minister. The Attorney-General will therefore be left to appoint himself. In all other appointments there is the check that they are not self-made. A Minister may appoint a friend, but before appointing him he will not overlook his friend's shortcomings. When, however, a Minister may appoint himself, it is not in human nature to expect that he will scan his own defects very nicely, or that he will be other than partial to his supposed merits, if not altogether oblivious of his own imperfections; and as a seat on the Supreme Court Bench is the goal of most legal ambitions, the Attorney-General will be almost sure to appoint himself. It may be urged that there is the check of public opinion, and the check of his colleagues in the Ministry upon him. But the assurance which enabled one innocent of legal knowledge to don a silk gown, would not be likely to make him shrink from the ermine; and his colleagues would be likely to pay more attention to his powers in political debate, which would be hostile to them in Parliament if they refused to sanction his appointment, rather than to his lack of legal lore, which the name of barrister might screen, and which the partiality of colleagues would ignore. As for the public, it is incompetent to judge of the respective merits of lawyers. Public opinion is influenced more by names than by realities. The names most frequently before the public are generally the most popular. The public is never prone to object

to popular appointments, even though they should be the result of corrupt motives, and though the recipients should be incapable of properly performing the necessary functions. The inducements, therefore, to a Ministry to let its Attorney-General appoint himself are not checked by any sufficiently counterbalancing power, either in the Ministry or in the public, and may practically be taken as sufficient to leave that law officer free to take his seat upon the Bench whenever a vacancy occurs.

Let us now see if there are any guarantees that this officer shall be a man of such legal acquirements and of such standing in his profession that he may be considered as a fit and proper person to be appointed to any vacancy that may occur on the Bench during his tenure of office. I think I am within the mark in saying that there is none whatever. The guarantee which the law provides—that a barrister cannot be appointed to the bench within seven years of his call to the bar—is of no value. He may be nominally in practice, and yet may not have held seven briefs in seven years. In selecting its law officers a Ministry considers more the debating power in the political arena of the person to be chosen than his knowledge of law or his standing at the bar. I admit that there are and have been many instances of the union of high debating power with great legal acumen and aptitude for judicial functions. But my argument is that it ought not to be a matter of chance, but a matter of certainty, that we shall have this union in persons appointed to the Bench. It is true that the present Bench is all that can be reasonably desired. And it is true that the appointments to it have been made under the present system. But this has been owing more to chance than to the system, and the element of chance ought to be eliminated—as I submit it can be. In fact the anomaly of allowing chance to remain such a potent element in the personnel of the Judiciary would have been rectified long ago had it not been for the fact that hitherto it has favoured the system. But the wheel may at any moment turn. Favourable results have during a certain time often accidentally proceeded from systems which have contained anomalies, but the anomalies have in the end wrought such evils that it sometimes necessitated revolutions to remove them. The monarchical system once involved the doctrine of passive obedience, which was not only tolerated but approved so long as no inconveniences resulted. But when it was sought to work this doctrine out to its logical sequence, it not only became apparent as an anomaly,

but was repelled as a tyranny. No inconvenience to the public has up to the present resulted from the imperfection in the method of appointing our judges. Until within the last decade every law officer of the Crown was of high legal attainments. Within the last decade some of the law officers have been of the highest legal attainments. But within the same period some of them have been of very limited legal attainments. We have had Mr. Higinbotham, Mr. Fellows, and Mr. Stephen, but we have also had lawyers of very inferior position and ability. In fact, during the last few years the wheel has been turning somewhat rapidly, and it was the merest chance that it turned up recently the two newest occupants of the bench instead of others, to say the least, less desirable. Abilities sufficient for the Cabinet may be altogether insufficient for the Bench. A law officer may have fair natural parts, and may show skill in debate if not ability in administration. But he may not be able to distinguish between mandatory and directory, or between reversing and quashing. Yet if the opportunity should occur there is little doubt but that he would be unchecked either by his modesty or by his colleagues from assuming the ermine. The remedy is to be found in leaving the selection to competent and impartial referees instead of leaving it as at present the resultant of chance, of fear, and of favour. There are no better judges of the requirements of the bench than those who have to practise before it. There are no better judges of those who possess the requisite acquirements for judicial functions than those who are in daily contact with, and have daily opportunities of observing the ability and learning of those practising before the Bench. There are, therefore, no better judges of the merits and demerits of a practising barrister than the Bench and the practising Bar. They should, therefore, have, if not the appointment, at least a voice in the appointments to the Bench. The Bar is sufficiently numerous to prevent the selection being made by any clique. I do not propose to leave it absolutely to the Bench and the Bar to make the appointments. What I propose is, that when an appointment is to be made to the Bench, the Supreme Court Judges and the practising barristers should nominate not less than three or four practising barristers, and the Government select any one of those so nominated. This would not preclude a law officer from being appointed if he should be fitted for the discharge of judicial functions. If Mr. Higinbotham, Mr. Holroyd, or Mr. Webb, or any

other barrister of like attainments and standing happened to be a law officer of the Crown when an appointment became necessary, there is little doubt but that a law officer would be selected by both Bench and Bar, and that the Government would not have to go outside its own ranks for an appointee creditable to itself, satisfactory to the Bench and Bar, and beneficial to the public. This method would, I submit, secure the best possible results. It would not be any radical innovation. It would leave the appointment as at present with the Government. The Ministry would have a choice which would not exclude a law officer if qualified, but which would be extended to several who were certainly fit, instead of being limited to one who might be certainly unfit. There would be no dissatisfaction on the part of the judges at a useless colleague being thrust upon them. There would be no grumbling on the part of the Bar because forensic ability had been ignored and its efforts nullified through counsel being compelled to address learned arguments to an incompetent judge. There would be no discontent in the public, which would know that the best man had been appointed. It may be objected that this would do away with the responsibility of the Government in judicial appointments. But responsibility is only a means to an end. Thus competitive examinations are not objected to because they lessen the responsibility of the Government. And what better kind of competitive examination can there be than that which goes on from year to year in chambers and in courts under the close scrutiny of those interested in observing the conduct of the examinees? The Bench would select the best men for their own sakes, and the Bar would do so if for no other reason than to get leading practitioners out of their way. The purposed alteration would tend in the same direction as other changes. It is competitive and elective instead of being a nominee and patronage system as at present. I am not bound to prove that the proposed alteration is perfect. I am only bound to shew that it would be an improvement on the present method. This, I think, has been shown. A good illustration of the system and of the satisfactory manner in which it would work may be found in the Board of Examiners for Barristers. This board is selected by the Bar; and so well has it worked that it has not excited a murmur, either from any member of the Bar who has not been elected to it, or from any student for the Bar who has been rejected

by it. I would confine the electing body to the Bench, and practising barristers of say five years' standing. I do not think that a non-practising barrister or one newly called, who would have no means of personally judging of the fitness of a barrister for the Judiciary, should be entrusted with such an important function as selecting for the Bench. A "practising barrister" might for the purpose of election be easily defined, so as to exclude those who were simply called to the Bar, but who did not as a matter of fact attend their chambers, offices, or the courts, so as to keep up their connection with the Bar; and might exclude clerks of petty sessions, or others, who had betaken themselves altogether to other pursuits. Parliament should, I think, move in this matter. A short act of two or three sections would, if properly drawn, be sufficient to obviate the anomaly to which I have referred, and to remove from the minds of the Bench, the Bar, and the public an uneasy feeling to which I have heard expression given that there at present exists no safeguard that a political job (and political jobs are not unknown in this country) may be at any moment perpetrated, whereby the Bench may be degraded, the Bar nullified, and public confidence in judicial decisions entirely sapped.

JEREMIAH DWYER.

SCIENCE GLEANINGS.

EVERY advance in science brightens the probability—nay, makes it all but a certainty—that many of the diseases of the human body are not, as was till recently supposed, generated within the body, but conveyed from without into it along with drink, food, and air, in the form of minute germs or seeds. It therefore behoves that all the *ingesta* be regarded with suspicion, and narrowly scrutinised as possible carriers of the seeds of disease. An additional source of danger, it appears, has been discovered as regards drinking water. The very filter which professed to remove impurities from water has come under suspicion. The sixth report of the Royal Commission on the Pollution of Rivers states that in the charcoal of filters which had not been renewed for three or six months, according to the degree of purity of the water filtered, myriads of minute worms were developed in the charcoal and passed out with the filtered water. The Commissioners, therefore, came to the conclusion that “the property which animal charcoal possesses in a high degree of favouring the growth of the low forms of organic life is a serious drawback to its use as a filtering medium for potable waters.” In lieu of charcoal spongy iron has been substituted, which, after lengthened trial, has yielded excellent results. Even Thames water, it is said, assumed under the influence of spongy iron the chemical character of deep well water, that is to say, of the water which contains the smallest proportion of organic matter, and is almost always bright, sparkling, palatable and wholesome. It may be added that it is the opinion of medical men who have devoted special attention to such subjects, that alcohol added to it is powerless to destroy disease germs in drinking water, but that no disease germs are proof against boiling. Suspected water should, therefore, always be boiled, even if it should be rendered somewhat insipid in the process. It is highly probable that the swagman’s billy is a preventative of much disease.

At the International Congress on Hygiene and Life Preserving, held at Brussels in last October, Prof. J. Bischoff, of London, drew attention to a popular delusion with regard to *contagia* in river water, viz., that the enormous dilution to which organic impurities are subjected in rivers, renders them practically harmless. He says,

that were *contagia* (or disease germs) a poison like, say strychnine, this might hold true; but as it consists of organised bodies they, or their progeny can just as well find their way down the river as other living beings, such as fishes, nay, even more readily, considering the stupendous rate at which some such low organisms multiply. F. Cohn, of Breslau, has calculated that one single bacteria might within five days fill by its progeny the whole ocean, supposing there to exist a sufficiency of food for them. If such happens, no protection is afforded either by the ordinary filtration through sand, or by oxydation of the organic matter through the continued exposure of river water to the air.

The electric telegraph has hitherto been regarded as the most wonderful, and perhaps the crowning achievement of modern science; but recent events seem to indicate even greater achievements in telegraphy. A late correspondent of *The Times* avers that between Rookee (in Bengal) and Chakrata, a distance of sixty miles, all through the season messages were "flashed," literally at the rate of two words per minute, by means of the "Mance Heliograph," or Sun-telegraph. The essentials of the Heliograph are a small mirror, mounted with adjustments and a finger key, so that the rays of the sun may be reflected with precision to any required spot. At the spot chosen for the rays to strike there would, of course, be a corresponding apparatus and mirror to receive the reflected light. The letters of the alphabet can be indicated by long and short flashes, in accordance with the "Morse" code. But a new process of telegraphy is mooted by which, it is said, "we may communicate with any person at any distance without having taken the precaution of previously establishing a continuous wire between the two stations." In short, the earth is used as a conducting medium in place of wires. An incident in the siege of Paris gives an interest to the history of the attempts to establish communication in such a way. M. Bourbouze in 1870, attempted to utilize the Seine as a conductor between the two bridges of Jena and Austerlitz respectively. An electric pile placed on the Jena bridge did send alternative currents to one on the Austerlitz bridge, which were received in a galvanometer and were found capable of interpretation by oscillation of the needle to the right or left. It was proposed to establish communication with Paris from beyond the lines—a matter of the utmost national importance at the time—but the armistice rendered that unnecessary. The grand difficulty in the way has been pointed out by a M. Parville. It is this. Supposing that one possessed a talking needle

and pile, half-a-dozen friends might send messages at the same time. His needle would go marching ceaselessly to right and left, obeying every one of the six at once (more messages than one at a time would have just the same effect); confusion would be unavoidable. A Danish engineer, M. Paul Lacour, professes to have discovered an expedient whereby each current would have such an individuality given to it that it could be recognised as that of a particular sender and of no other. In *Nature*, vol. XIV., p. 353, the process is thus described:—Suppose a series of three tuning forks vibrating continuously (by means of electricity), and producing the first, 100 vibrations per second; the second, 300; and the third 500; it is easy to conceive that each of these tuning-forks may interrupt and establish an electric current with intermissions regulated by the number of its vibrations. If we have three tuning-forks identical with the three former, we can conceive each group to be placed at the extremity of an electric line serving as a medium of communication. We shall then have the three transmitting tuning-forks acting respectively on the three receiving forks. Let us admit, meantime, that by an effort of will (through a manipulation) we may either set agoing or stop one of these tuning-forks in accordance with a cadence that will not necessarily coincide with its regular action, we shall find at the other extremity, in the symmetry of the disturbed instrument the same discordant manifestations. The mistuned note will be as faithfully transmitted as the harmonic vibrations. The bearing of a practical realisation of this conception will be easily understood. It opens the way to the indefinite multiplication of diverse transmissions; it is also the germ of a solution of the problem of transmission with the power of individualising each separate current. What, then, is necessary? 1st. Tuning forks of constant action—a problem already solved. 2nd. That these forks emit currents whose phases correspond exactly with their movements—a problem which has also been solved. 3rd. Finally, we must be able at very small intervals of time (say 100 per second) to arrest and put in action each of these forks. This last is only a difficulty of construction; it is necessary only to act with very small masses in order to easily overcome inertia. The success of M. Marcel Deprez authorises us in thinking that the third condition may be realised. If in place of a connecting wire, the earth be made the medium, then the difficulties are at an end. Imagination can hardly find a limit to the latent possibilities in such a discovery.

For such Australians as affect biological and palæontological studies the forthcoming work of Professor Owen on *The Extinct Mammals of Australia* will be an event of no ordinary importance. By these (mammals) are meant—as the Professor explained to the Geologists' Association paying one of its visits to the British Museum—the great kangaroo family. The few incidents in the history of one member of the group give a hint of the patience and enthusiasm which science demands of her votaries. The bones of the *Diprotodon Australis*, the Professor stated, he had been thirty years in collecting, and they had been brought from spots 1000 miles apart. This animal must have been as much bigger than any other known form of kangaroo, either existing or fossil, as a megatherium (18 feet long and 8 feet high) exceeded in size a ram or a tapir.

The British Admiralty has attained the character of being exceedingly “chary” in the adoption of any innovation in ship-building, either as to plan or material. Their recent determination to construct, not experimentally, but wholesale, several war-ships of steel is, in the opinion of *The Times*, a sufficient indication that one of the most obstinate difficulties in ship-building has been overcome. The attempts at building ships of steel have hitherto been failures. The chief difficulty in the employment of steel for iron was its brittleness. This Dr. Siemens, at his works at London, has been successful in removing by the abstraction of carbon and the addition of manganese to the metal in a perfectly fluid state. “This steel,” he says, “contains hardly any carbon at all—perhaps one-tenth per cent. only—but it contains manganese in a larger proportion than has hitherto been given to it. It possesses a toughness which is unapproached by any other kind of metal, and before it breaks yields even to 50 per cent. Two corvettes, named the *Iris* and *Mercury*, made of Dr. Siemen's steel are rapidly approaching completion at Pembroke, and six other smaller vessels are ordered. The advantages of the substitution of steel for iron are obvious. Steel has greater elasticity than iron, while it is 50 per cent. tougher. Less metal would be required, hence a reduction of weight, greater speed, and a reduction of cost would be possible. It would seem as if a revolution in ship-building must follow this most valuable discovery.

The well-known astronomer, Mr Richard A. Proctor, writing to *The Times* of March 23, directs attention to the remarkably favorable opportunity that will be afforded in the coming autumn for

correcting the determination of the sun's distance. The planet Mars will then be in "opposition," and the time for observation will not be limited, as in the late transit of Venus, to some twenty-four hours, but will extend over several weeks. There will, therefore, be no need for multiplying observing stations to provide against the chance of bad weather. There are two methods of observation; one consists in comparing observations of the planet at stations as far apart as possible; the other in comparing observations made at the same station in the morning and the evening, or when the planet is as far to the east and west of the meridian as possible. The southern hemisphere of Mars will be most favorably posited for telescopic and spectroscopic observation.

An ingenious French savant some considerable time since, started a theory on very slender data, which, however, was of a nature to appeal strongly to the popular imagination, and it took possession of it accordingly. It was substantially this—that the retina of the eye of a dead man could, in the hands of those skilled in such matters, be made to show the image of the last object seen during life. Hence, in cases of murder there would be a probability that the last object seen during life by the murdered man would be the murderer: detection might thus easily follow. This supposed fact has been largely drawn on by novelist and playwrights. From experiments lately undertaken by Professors Boll, of Rome, and Kuhne of Heidelberg, it would appear that in this rather ingenious conception there is just a modicum of truth. Kuhne found that the external layer of the retina of all animals is during life of a purple hue, which is being continually destroyed by the light entering the eye; the restoration is effected by the living choroid, or perhaps the retinal epithelium. Darkness also restores the purple colour which vanishes immediately after death. The condition necessary for the production of a photograph on the retina, would be that the effect of the light would have to be so prolonged or so intense as to destroy the balance of the purple vision, and the power of the retinal epithelium to restore it. For such a photograph then to be found on the retina at all, there would require to be so many exceptional conditions as could hardly concur in one case in a thousand. For any practical purpose this supposed test is useless.

Dr. J. G. Richardson, of Philadelphia, took advantage of the gathering of representatives of diverse nationalities at the Centennial Exhibition to obtain specimens of the blood of each for microscopical examination. He found that the size of the red blood-corpuscle

varied by hardly an appreciable degree in the most diverse nationalities, Red Indians, Japanese, French, English, and Americans. He holds that his observations confirm the Scriptural declaration, that the Lord "made of one blood all the nations of the earth."

Professor Graham Bell has lately developed in a remarkable degree the *telephone*, which was invented some eighteen months ago by Mr. Elisha Gray of America. The inventor and his assistant have held a conversation at a distance of 143 miles. More recently they talked through a wire, arranged to give an artificial resistance of 40,000 ohms, which is more than the whole length of the Atlantic cable would offer. But there are other obstacles than resistance to be overcome, to which Professor Bell is now directing his attention. A great simplification in the instrument has been made by the entire abolition of the battery and electric magnets, and the substitution of the permanent magnet, the electric impulse used in transmitting the sound being generated by the voice itself.

SIDEREUS.

THE MELBOURNE REVIEW.

OUR LAND POLICY.

It appears that in Victoria we have not been able to escape the agitation which in all the older countries gathers round the land question wherever it is stirred. All over the world, as here, men are quarrelling about the exact property to be claimed for the landholders, the exact rights to be allowed the landowner, and the true interest of the State in regulating both. And the subject needs all the attention it is getting. Over landed rights the forces of Communism and of constituted society seem soonest destined to meet in conflict. If more than anything else their misuse led to the civil war of Rome and the end of the Republic ; if more than anything else their abuse provoked the French Revolution ; now, when the vacant spaces of the earth are rapidly filling up, it becomes more than ever important that its productive powers should be raised to their fullest limit. It seems a pity that lately the question should have been drawn aside from this issue into another channel by proposals to employ special means to secure the disruption of large estates. Happily for the prejudice so novel an experiment in British politics must excite against a young country, these proposals are now at rest. But their suggestion has led by a side blow to the impeachment of one particular of the twofold land policy the European Liberal party stands committed to, the proof of which is the more essential from its having been pursued without deviation by all the colonies of Australasia—the settlement of the people on the land. That progressive policy comprises the double contention ; first, whether land cannot lawfully be subjected to special taxation, and secondly, whether a country thrives better under a system of small rather than large holdings. The former of these is an abstract, the other a practical matter ; yet the followers of reason as of experience seem equally unable to settle



their conclusions. But the problem, puzzling as it appears, can yet, it is found, become in Victoria still more perplexed. Sixteen years have passed since the first Act dealing with the lands of this colony came into operation, and during this time three other carefully considered amending Acts have been placed in the statute book. And now complaints are heard that so signally have they failed, that they may be said to have done little of what they were intended to do, but, on the contrary, to have done much which they were intended not to do. The State, deeming it advisable to favour small proprietorships, offered limited plots of land at a low rate to all comers. It has come to light, however, that these gentlemen have in many cases simply passed on their blocks to the large landowners, realising by the transaction a handsome profit at the expense of the State. The people having been thus plundered, and the purpose of Government having been likewise frustrated, it is proposed that drastic measures should be taken by the State to undo the mischief its own *laches* had brought about. Which seems to amount to saying, that the Government, having wronged itself, should now, to make matters even, inflict a double wrong upon individuals.

It is, however, chiefly to the twofold policy above noted that I wish to direct the following remarks. The question of the tax is of course only consequential and a matter of rights, the main battle centering round the controversy, what system of cultivation can be best depended on to provide the largest and steadiest supply of the necessaries of life, and to do most for the producers and the country. But in a day when so many seem to consider themselves at liberty to view it under the clouded lights of national prejudice, party passion, or personal ignorance, it may not be amiss in the first place to insist upon the first-rate importance of a sound and a speedy decision on the subject, and the unpardonable folly of those who suffer themselves to be thus misled. Few reflect that the day is in sight when the resources of physical and economic science will be tried to the uttermost to advance, it may be even to maintain, the material welfare of the millions constantly being added to the world's numbers. A hundred years is not a vast unit of time, many men outlive it; yet what results may it not give us. If the population of the United Kingdom be taken to add a tenth to itself each decennial period, the population of Australia to double itself in twenty years, and that of North America in thirty years, we shall have within

the century three totals of 80, 60, and 300 millions in these countries alone. It must be remembered the past is no criterion. Every year wars are becoming less costly to life, every year disease is being more capably grappled with. That is, the two great positive checks hitherto known are losing their efficacy. With the new ideas, too, just dawning on the multitudes of China and India are coming also the means to satisfy their new needs and new desires. We are told, however, in deprecation of alarm, of vast areas still uncultivated all over the globe. As though that such places could be left unworked were not sufficient proof that their produce could not compete so far with that of older lands, as though freight and carriage cost nothing, as though any district ever exported corn with success, which was not within easy reach of water. Yet all must be clothed and fed. Is it, then, too much to say that such questions as the apportionment of the returns from labour, the ultimate issue of freetrade, the problem of 'preventive checks,' the very maintenance of the present social order, must look to land to get their answer? Here, then, if anywhere, the dictates of spite, jealousy, or self-interest are out of place; while, if advisable, it is to be hoped we may for once abandon our inconvenient British custom of standing to our primitive ideas until we are hoist with our own petard. It must not be forgotten, too, that a mistake made here is not easily rectified. Principles once accepted in any land system have surprising power in getting themselves assumed as indispensable, if not indisputable.

At the outset I may express my most emphatic distrust of all analogies and figures. So far the question has been made little more than a duel in statistics, with the natural result of little progress. He would indeed be a poor hand at controversy who could not find or make groups of calculations in plenty to support any conclusion. Figures have probably led more wise men astray than they have set fools right. Truth, writes Mill, has no advantage over falsehood, except the capacity of being perpetually re-discovered. But any suspicion that further inquiry is needed is lulled by the fancy that we have truth in the figures, which are true enough, but they happen to be mis-applied. To use such data aright seems to require not more an acute perception than a trained judgment—a not very common possession among the masses. While, therefore, not decrying a cautious use of numbers to verify results, I am disposed to rely chiefly on general deductions from policy and reason. But the point of false analogies strikes to the very heart of the matter. A

comparison of the whole of France, the supposed country of small proprietors, and England, the typical country of large farms, is found to be in favour of the latter, in the quantity of produce. If it is so, we may well ask, is this all? Is it of no account that Matthew Arnold speaks of France as the country in which the peasantry is most alive; that, as the author of an article on the land question in the May number of the *Nineteenth Century* tells us, "the self-denial, the careful thrift, the scrupulous frugality of the Flemish, the French, or the Swiss peasant could not be imparted to the English poor by any statute of Parliament." But, setting this apart, what possible economic standpoint is there common to the two countries? Is there any similarity, not to say identity, between their soil, their climate, their history, their habits, their dispositions? Such a comparison must be radically and incurably vicious. Why, the whole edifice of objections against the *petite culture* might be shattered by suggesting that the small properties of France would produce still less if they were leaseholds, or the large farms of England would produce much more if they were freeholds. Of course the only reliable comparison is between the small and large systems in France itself, the one country where both exist side by side, and of which we have satisfactory statistics. A very few words will suffice to show an error somewhere. The small yield of wheat in all France has been referred to and triumphantly contrasted with that of England. If it should now turn out that it is due to mingling the smaller yield of the larger farms with the larger yield of the smaller farms, the situation would become comic. This, however, is what we are positively assured is the case. Mr. Arthur Arnold, in the paper above alluded to, says, "The average produce of wheat in France would appear much greater, were it not for the inferior production of the large farms in the west and south." To this argument I wish to draw particular attention, as a fair and final test between the two systems. In favour of the results of the *petite culture*, as contrasted with the *grande*, both in France, we have the following testimony, the latest on the subject* :—

M. Passy:—"At the present day on the same area, and under equal circumstances, the largest clear produce is yielded by small farming."†

* I regret to have to quote sometimes at secondhand, but the poverty of the National Library in this department leaves me no alternative.

† *Memoires de l'Academie des Sciences.*

M. de Laveleye:—"All over the continent of Europe there is more live stock kept, more capital owned, more produce and income yielded by small farms than by large estates." *

Mr. W. T. Thornton:—"On the ten-acre farms of Flanders the crops are heavier by a fourth than on the hundred acre farms of La Hesbaie, and as heavy again as on the farms of two hundred and fifty acres in Le Coudroz." †

But even weightier evidence is given by M. de Lavergne, whose calculations have been again and again appealed to in support of the English or large farming system. This misguided statist, flying in the face of his own figures, is not ashamed to write to Mr. Cliffe Leslie:—"The best cultivation in France is that of the peasant proprietors, and the sub-division of the soil makes perpetual progress." ‡

These few may be cited out of many who have made their investigations on the spot, and whose evidence is particularly valuable from the fact that many of them are strongly prejudiced in favour of English modes of life and thought. Even were it argued that their predilections were with France, and that therefore they were unfitted to be decisive authorities, it might fairly be claimed that their opinions should at least stand, until controverted by a single modern name of weight in economy on the other side, not excluding Mr. Laing and Mr. Greg. §

* *Cobden Club Essays*, p. 244. † *Peasant Proprietors*. ‡ *Cobden Club Essays*, p. 334.

§ I may subjoin here some remarks of Mr. A. Arnold:—"It will be admitted by all practical agriculturists that the surest test of production is the number of cattle, and in this respect Herr Block's table does exhibit our inferiority to Belgium and Holland. 'It would startle,' says Mr. Rham, 'the English farmer of 400 acres of arable land if he were told that he should constantly feed 100 head of cattle, but this would not be too large a proportion if the Flemish system were strictly followed. . . . A beast for every three acres being a common Flemish proportion, and on *very small occupations*, where spade husbandry is used, the proportion being still greater.' In 1873, on a farm of 32 acres, Mr. Thornton counted eight cows, six bullocks, a calf, and four pigs; and was told by the farmer that over and above what his own cattle yielded, he purchased no less than £200 worth of manure annually. Again, take that part of Her Majesty's European dominions, in which alone small farming may fairly be compared with the large farming in England—I mean the Channel Islands—certain lands in Guernsey, yielded of wheat, an average for the three years ending 1847, of 76, 80, and 72 bushels per acre. In the Channel Islands the agricultural population is more than four times as dense as in England, there being in the latter country only one cultivator to seventeen acres of cultivated land, while in Guernsey and Jersey there is one to about four.' Yet the agriculture of these islands maintains, besides cultivators, non-agricultural populations respectively three and four

With some hesitation I venture to offer statistical proof of this view, though satisfied it cannot be met. According to figures collected by Mr. Welby, the yield of produce in France during the period he reviews was, for the northern division, 256 francs per head; for the southern, only 197. Now it is well known that it is in the north that the small properties mostly prevail; in the south the large estates. But the crucial criterion, it seems, is to be wheat. By the same table the value of that grown in the north, it appears, was 78 francs, while in the south it fell away to 48 francs, per head.*

Again, during the fifty years preceding 1865, the number of holdings increased from 10 millions to 14 millions, and would have been more but for the falling off in those of large and medium size. These holdings have been classified under seven heads, according to size, and the value of their rents (estimated for the land tax), exhibits a steady decrease as these classes rise in the scale of size; the advance in rent between the 5th and the 7th (or that one of smallest size) being double the difference between the 1st and 5th†. It is scarcely necessary to say more to prove which system has the advantage, as far as produce goes, if France is to be made the *experimentum crucis*.

That the fact should be so, principle and reason prepare us to expect. It is argued against this view that it must pay better to work the land in large blocks, as by doing so a higher rate of profits may be obtained; this, though contested, is, I believe, indisputable. It might be answered that even in that case it would be preferable to put the profit as much as possible into the pockets of the many, of those who give the labour of their hands rather than those who merely give the use of their money. But I think bolder ground may be taken than this. No doubt the fact is so; higher profits *are* so made, and because it is so, it seems above all things advisable that the large estates should be early distributed into smaller holdings. Paradox as this may seem, it is a simple corollary of the law of return from land. That law is that the more capital and labour we find applied to land, the less will be the proportionate profit derived. "If you double the capital you will not obtain double the produce." If it were not so, a few thousand acres by applying a

times as dense as that of England! 'There are larger estates in England,' says Mr. Brock, a bailiff of Guernsey, 'than the whole of this island, but will one be found that produces the quantity of provisions sent to market by our small farms?'

* *Journal of Statistical Society*, Vol. 29. † *Journal Des Economistes*, Vol. 14, p. 28.

constant stream of fresh capital would supply all Victoria. Of course there will be always some return, but it must bear a less and less ratio to the cost. It is clearly, then, better for the man of wealth, who desires to make his fifteen per cent., to spend the least sum possible in improvements or in labour. Naturally he desires to get the utmost profit on his investment, and, after some necessary initial outlay, he soon finds he gains more by, for instance, purchasing with his surplus capital more land, to be worked in the same superficial manner. Put, however, fifty yeoman farmers on the same estate, they will probably produce twenty times as much as the pastoral holder. But, as this can only be done at augmented cost, profits will, no doubt, fall, averaging perhaps but five per cent. all round instead of fifteen. But if profits are lowered, a vastly greater quantity of produce is sent into the market. The consumer knows that he gains, and the producer thinks that he does, even though his return should average but three per cent. or less. For it is important to notice that what the small producer desires is, not to obtain the largest net return for his expenditure, but the largest gross amount of subsistence for himself and his family. On the other hand, the assurance which I received from a large station-holder, a practical and experienced man, was scarcely needed to convince me, that he found it more profitable to stop all the improvements on his run (and it was one that lent itself favorably to improvement), and put his surplus profits into additional acres. The dictum seems not too general to be untrue, that high farming profits can only exist to the injury of the country, that to lower them means cheaper commodities and more of them for the consumer. Let me add, that when I said twentyfold by way of illustration, I had calculated it thus. It is only excellent land in Victoria that will carry a sheep to the acre, for which the owner would consider himself well rewarded with an average annual return of four shillings. The average yield of wheat, however, was last year something over thirteen bushels to the acre, which at six shillings would give about eighty shillings per acre; and the actual result will, I think, be found even more favourable than this.

Of the threefold benefit claimed to flow from the system of small cultivation—the increase and spread of population, an improvement in the condition of the cultivators, and a highly stimulated production for the country at large—the last scarcely needs further comment. Against the first again no general reasons that I have seen have been alleged, but it is thought sufficient to refer to the case of

France. It certainly is true that the intelligence of that nation alone in Europe exhibits a sound appreciation of the evils stored up for the future in the overgrowth of population. The action to which these views have led them may indeed be condemned, but the attack comes with ill-grace from us Englishmen, who have been content to see our country for generations past the recognised pauper-warren of the civilised world. As one consequence of which, she has found it necessary, for the five years ending 1874, to send away annually from her borders 271,000 of her sons.* Holding as I do that it forms the lesser and poorer part of a nation's mission to increase its wealth, it is matter for real rejoicing that the civilisation and energy of Western Europe should be thus carried into other and desert lands. Are we sure, however, that it was such farseeing, pure, and unselfish motives that prepared such teeming swarms, and not the exact reverse? Is it just for us to blame the French for refusing to impoverish their country by such a course? Still it must be admitted that if, as is said, small properties tend to hamper the increase of population, enough has been said to condemn it for Victoria, but why should it? Surely it is clear enough that the same sense of self-interest which under the *morcellement forcé* makes it policy to limit the co-heirs, would here suggest the most rapid possible increase of cradles. Where the difference is between three or four acres and several hundred, it is not the increase of mouths, but of hands, that is of most concern. While, finally, after all has been said, according to the philosophic and conservative M. Mézières,† the emigration of the country folk into the towns is so far from including the small farmers, that it is confined to the day labourers, and these in the employ of others. The last objection worth considering against the *petite culture* is thus, I conceive, done away with. ‡

* It has been calculated that each adult has cost her, upon reaching maturity, for rearing and education about £75. Further, that each emigrant takes with him, in clothes and coin, some £5 more. This for the five years would make £21,680,000. During the sixty years from 1815 to 1875 8,112,000 left the shores of the United Kingdom. This would represent a withdrawal of £648,960,000. A small deduction must be made for "foreigners," but the above were all *bona fide* emigrants who stated they "did not intend to return." † *La Société Française*.

‡ I have said nothing about the agricultural labourer. It is flattering to him to be told his position is superior to that of his compeer, the petty farmer of France, but he may hope it is too bad news to be true when he reflects on his wages of seven or eight shillings a week, when he recalls that Mr. Joseph Arch declared that he never saw a joint of meat on his table until he went to Canada, when he hears that the French Govern-

It is no doubt very possible that large estates may furnish more materials for splendid show, may be even more favourable to great accumulations. But I deny that this is the main thing to be desired, especially in the form it takes in England, that of making the rich a great deal richer, and the poor a little less uncomfortable. Few things can be more actively evil for a people than this constant assuming that their great work is to save money, invest well, and grow quickly rich. The perpetual harping on this theme is not much to our credit. In Victoria we are only too ready to believe and act upon it. It will not soon be forgotten, however, how lately the Liberal party in England was left a ruin from causes amongst which the preaching of this doctrine was certainly not the least. And it was a splendid testimony to the sanity and soundness of the country, that it so resisted all attempts to tamper with its patriotic hopes, and its better faith. There is something still more essential to a nation than a greater capacity for indulgence. Nor has the accession to enhanced means always served for good. For Athens, Rome, Spain, the gift of riches only heralded the epoch of decay. Even the Italian Republics, whose public virtue lighted up like solitary stars the darkness of the mediæval firmament, in their prosperity speedily forgot the honesty, the love of freedom and enterprise, the moral greatness which had made them first glorious and then prosperous. And if, on other grounds, it is inexpedient, neither does political economy urge us to give it any help. Of the three branches into which I should like to see this science divided—production, accumulation, and distribution, the two former as arts, may very well, once all artificial obstacles are removed, be left to themselves and *laissez faire*. The natural tendencies which lead to them are stimulated and perfected by civilisation. It is different with the third; that is altogether a contrivance of human policy. And further, the first two are only to be held as means which will

ment has to provide rations for their enforced conscripts superior to those the British voluntary privates receive, or when he reads or hears of the following in a Report on Technical Instruction presented to Parliament in 1868 :—(p 56) "Special instruction in agriculture for the rural population has not been attempted in this country. The difference between the social and industrial position of the agricultural labourer here and that of the small farmer in France precludes at present the example of that country in this respect from being followed." Yet we are told the former is the better off. It is a pity such a statement should have so little in its favour beyond its courage. It would be incredible in anyone who had ever seen the English peasantry in their homes.

eventually lead to a just and thorough diffusion of what is thereby acquired. Surely, to somewhat change Bentham's apophthegm, what legislation ought to aim at is the division among the greatest number of the greatest quantity of the earth's fruits. That socialism, with its little truth and less sense, should have thriven as it has, is due, I conceive, to its being perceived that Government can and ought to regulate distribution more for the general welfare than it has done in the past.

This whole question of promoting an extensive settlement of the people on the lands, though much questioned lately, seems to be of such cardinal importance, that I am tempted to say something further about it, from a point of view other than a commercial one. All true statesmen, I suppose, desire to legislate as if they were standing in the presence of the future, rather than of the passing day. And if they are to give a nation the elements of content, strength, and progress, they must, among other things, provide in the largest sense for a sound life in a sound frame. We trust to town-life to quicken cultivation, enterprise, shrewdness, ambition, all the finer nervous and intellectual characteristics. And infinitely valuable they all are; so much so, that, until they have been won, the race cannot be said to have entered into its heritage. But not the less must they have support, not merely if they are to live, but if they are not to kill the possessor. Endurance, health, vitality, strong if somewhat coarse capacities in the first instance, which will stand wear and tear—these in the individual or his parents, we are told, are required as a matrix for the most delicate faculties. And it must be remembered that, while the lower give life to the higher properties, the higher cannot evoke the lower. Again, the superior qualities are essentially destructive. The brain at work, it is known, draws nutriment from all parts of the body and returns nothing; nervous activity preys upon itself; a family of fine minds runs out in a generation or two. To these inevitable causes of decay in all civic populations, "confined and pestered in these pinfolds here," there are others to be added, more or less, but never quite preventible—a tainted atmosphere, impure food, confinement, unrest, and temptations to vice seemingly increasing in allurements, the more men learn fortitude against their seductions. The pale faces, the stunted figures, the lustreless eyes of our English manufacturing towns, are a sight not soon put out of the mind of one who comes upon them suddenly from the country parts around. To renew their "trail and feverish being," to recruit the weakened stock, to repair those inroads

of mind upon matter, we can do little but bring in from field and mountain fresh drafts of those who there—

Among the leaves, have never known
The weariness, the fever, and the fret.
Here, where men sit and hear each other groan.

All these points, though obvious enough, cannot be pressed too constantly on the attention of a country which has already assembled one half its population within its towns. And I would remark that, in the case of the admitted falling off in the physique of the American race, the unwholesome habits that infect concentrated populations have probably much more to do with it than the cause commonly alleged—climatic influences.

By this general attraction wherever men "most do congregate," going on all over the world (but least active among small proprietaries), we are likely to lose more than we may at first suppose. Nothing worth much has been done by those who have been habituated to think highly of the opinions of their fellow men. The chief movements of reform and conquest* have usually issued from the enthusiasm, the hardy confidence of men to whom the shackles of convention and artificial life were unknown. Nor do some differences of origin greatly matter; in substance the history of these impulses is much the same. Sometimes they spread like a contagion from the plains around into the towns, as did the French Revolution; or they may come in the form of a ruder race taking the place of one civilised but vicious past hope, as the northern tribes cleansed Imperial Rome; or, oftenest of all, a recluse will preach his mission wherever a crowd will listen to him. Luther in his Augustinian cell, the Maid of Orleans amid the forests of Lorraine, Mahomet on the lonely hillsides of Mount Hara, Moses in the wilds of Midian, Peter the Hermit, the Founder of Christianity unnoticed by the waves of Tiberias, everywhere alike—the story of great ideas is the story of genius in solitude. In short, if we are to allow the people, without question, to continue to crowd into populous places, the individual, in some respects, must expect decay, while the race itself, as it will miss many aids, must expect a slower advance.

Finally, there are some who lament, and perhaps with reason,

* Conquest commonly means reform, being a rough but conclusive way of proving superiority. The debased Oriental Christians, as has been suggested, when they accepted their lives with the Koran, deserved both proselytism and death in the face of the fierce honesty of the Moslem missionaries.

the reckless rushes of democratic feeling in this colony. Such men would do well to recollect how superior among conservative agencies is landed proprietorship. There can be no guarantee for the orderly march of progress like that derived from a large and firmly seated class of rural owners. Their patriotism and love of liberty would not be less, while their intelligence, if it burned with a less brilliant, would show a steadier and a more lasting flame. Had a few sheep runs been occupied instead by these yeomen farmers, it is possible many of the country districts might at the late election have told a different tale.

The second branch of this question concerns the special taxation of land—the question whether land can be justly charged with dues over and above those levied off personal or moveable property. It is to be hoped for the credit of humanity this case can be made out. If such a tax would touch anything more than a special profit accruing over and above the proper profit of the capital and labour sunk directly in the soil, words would be weak to denounce it in adequate terms. In such a case it must remain a cruel and cowardly robbery; an attack prompted by cupidity upon the substance of a single class weak in power and in numbers. There can be no mean—it is a wise and enlightened work, or the act of bullies and dastards. But if the commonly accepted doctrine of (economic not agricultural) rent be true, the injustice would be to the people in allowing that extra profit in the future to get into the hands which have received it up to the present. Three months ago I should have assumed this, the Ricardian theory, as a postulate past dispute, but within that period the readers of this *Review* have been startled by an article* which boldly lifts us back into the dark ages of pre-economic science. It seems, then, necessary once more to repeat the weary task of “re-discovering truth.”

The theory of rent, as held by “every name in the first rank of political economy,” is briefly this: All land is of unequal fertility, or is situated at varying distances from the market. The first instalment of population cultivates (or occupies) ordinarily that which is most fertile, or most accessible, such yielding most cheaply. A

* Reference is made, of course, to a paper by Mr. Elkington, which I refuse to believe represents either the fruits of his reading or the result of his thought. *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*, and it is doubtless owing to its coming at the end of his long and exhaustive “Glance” that, in his abstract reasoning, the learned lecturer on Political Economy has suffered his pen to commit him to half-a-dozen pages of almost unmingled fallacy.

hundred bushels of corn, let us say, are thus raised at three shillings a bushel. The population, or its wealth, doubles, and two hundred are now wanted. This supply can be obtained by one of three methods only—the good land must be more carefully cultivated, or recourse must be had to inferior soils close at hand, or the supply must be got from fertile land lying at some distance. All these plans, however, involve more expense, and for the second hundred bushels four shillings must be charged. But the original growers can, and, it is to be presumed, will, compel the public (if these are not to do without their corn) to pay them the same sum for what only cost them three shillings; the extra shilling coming into their pockets without their expending a penny, or lifting a finger. Of course, when a third hundred is demanded, if the price rises to five shillings, the second body will have, in the same way, one gratuitous shilling, while the first will have two, and so on. The five pounds in the one case, the ten pounds in the other are rent, and if there were a landlord, it might be appropriated by him; and, *mutatis mutandis*, the same principles will apply to the cost of all raw produce that may be raised. It is impossible to see what claim the grower can advance to it, unless indeed (which in a few cases may have been done), he have allowed for it beforehand in his purchase of the land. It would be amusing to see the treatment a British tenant would receive if, as some men seem disposed to do here, he demanded back his rent on the ground that it was due to his own exertions. It is this rent—this accruing unearned increment—that the State desires to secure a portion of through the medium of a tax.

This is the doctrine of "rent," the keystone of the system, the initial explanation of its difficulties, the central fact of political economy, and there are, so far as I know, but two names of any note who have committed themselves to a denial of it. The one is Bastiat, who found himself led in that direction by his fanciful sophism on the nature of value, a sophism which has yet to be made convincing. The second is the American, Mr. Carey—the apostle of Protection—who accepted it with eagerness, as involving the existence of the system he advocated. If indeed the theory of rent, and with it the theory of the unearned increment, be a delusion, it is high time to declare the whole science has been miswritten, that exchange is an absurdity, values unmanageable, and above all that free trade must be given up as a puerile deception.

Before going further it may be as well to notice a point which, having been first made by Mill in support of the

distinction between landed and personal property, has been since generally followed and perhaps pushed much further than he intended. If false, it must be injurious to the cause it is called on to support. "No man," said he, "made the land," and it is argued that, as a gift of nature, no man can acquire proprietary rights in it. I confess I fail to see the force of this. I can neither see what ground it proceeds on, or up to what it is intended to lead. It is true it is gratuitous in being provided by nature, but how does it differ so far from the block of marble just carved by the sculptor's hand into a Venus. Once all natural powers, though free gifts, were valueless and fetched nothing. But in time they will be utilised, and will command a price, passing soon, too, in most cases into the hands of purchasers for value. With appropriation and exchange proprietary rights begin. On the other hand, if the State places its claim to control these proprietary rights on the ground that they extend over natural gifts, is it prepared to accept the implication that it is debarred from the exercise of a similar control in the case of industrial products? On the contrary, it is clear that the State must regard all rights in property as subsisting, like the twin palladium of modern society—marriage, by its permission, and for its own interests. So we find most nations, at various times, for various objects have intervened to modify the one and the other. This point then, though much applauded, seems unsatisfactory, besides being really unimportant. What is of weight in this direction, might be better put by saying, "no man can make more land," from which the two consequences follow, 1st, that its proper management becomes of importance; 2nd, that land may, under certain conditions, furnish an extra remuneration. But these are questions of practical results, not of inherent rights.

It is further argued with an air of conclusiveness that the State may properly interfere, for land being limited in quantity is in fact a monopoly. But at once it is plausibly objected that with most monopolies as such the State never concerns itself. Works of art, antiquities, the fine voices of some singers, the supply of sunshine in England, cannot be increased, yet interference with them would generally be resisted, even where it was possible. And the State sometimes actually confers monopolies, as in the case of patents and copyrights. The true ground—the practical consequence of monopoly in land—though not forgotten, is not put forward with the prominence due to the only justification which converts intervention from a blunder into a duty. It is a monopoly of that by

which all mankind subsists. Not some, but all necessities, not some, but all materials come, and come only from the soil. To abridge or increase the production from land is therefore to abridge or increase the bread and clothing of the human family.

To return to the question of "rent." Exception is taken to the words, "unearned increment," and it is urged that after all the rise must be earned. Perhaps the phrase is a loose one, and open to misconception. The increment *is* earned, earned just as truly as a gentleman who runs a fleet of steamers to his seaside village earns an increased rental for his pains; only unfortunately in the former case the earnings go into the wrong pocket; for at least the landlords have not earned it. They might one and all go to sleep for a dozen years, while the hands of others are toiling, and their brains scheming and numbers multiplying; in a word, while the community is advancing apace, and in a dozen years, these Rip Van Winkles might wake to find with amazement their neighbours' industry had added without their knowledge (it might be without their will), ten per cent. to their estates all round. Does it seem a very unjust claim that a portion of this increment, unearned by them, but earned by others, should be appropriated and returned into the coffers of the State. Let the landlord retain by all means the full profits of his investment, but when these are paid, there remains an extra value due to the people, and in which they are surely entitled to partake. *

Against this conclusion we sometimes have the grotesque objection urged that the public funds and the price of stocks and shares also rise with the advance of the country. It would be sufficient to

* A singular reference lately made to "unearned decrement" sets the fallacy of the objectors to a rent tax in a transparent light. Land in the vicinity of some goldfields has lately fallen in price, and, if the rise of rent values is taxed, it is only fair, it is said, that some compensation should be made for the fall. But why? A man purchases land, gold is discovered near it, and his property rises to ten times its original value. Of course, if there was a tax, the "unlucky" owner would have a small charge made on the annual value of this increment. If the gold yield falls off, his rent drops, but the State also remits the tax. What has he to complain of? If, however, another should buy it just before the fall, whose concern is that? Is the State to make good every foolish fellow's unfortunate speculation? Most will agree the "decrement" was well earned by his imprudence. Again, this rise was an exceptional one, due to a local piece of good fortune, and not to general causes affecting the land of the whole community. Both rise and fall are strictly limited in character. If the fall was due to some national calamity, he would suffer, but suffer in common with all. Further (for the phrase bristles with misconception), the fall is *not* due, as is wrongly asserted, to the "progress of society," but exactly to the reverse, to the decline of population and wealth among that portion of the society situated near the goldfields.

reply to this that if such investments (other than the Funds) * turned out unusually profitable, other parties can enter the same field and compete. But there can be no equality of competition in the case of products of the soil. For the rest, however, take this from Professor Cairns :—

This argument is founded on gross confusion, which perhaps it may be well to clear up. A rise in the price of stocks, when it is due to the progress of society, represents a larger *capitalised value of the same annual sum* ; it merely indicates a change in the relation of capital and interest. But land rises in value not merely from this cause, but also because rent, the annual return, rises. A rise in the price of stocks merely indicates a change in the relation of capital and interest. The stockholder, consequently, unless so far as the advance gives him greater confidence in the stability of his property, derives no advantage from the change. His income remains as before. He may indeed sell it for a higher price, but on reinvesting the price, he would have to pay proportionately higher for whatever productive fund he chose to buy." . .

And as to works of art and their artificial value, he says :—

The cases are not analogous. In the first place, picture dealers perform a useful social function by cultivating the public taste in the direction of art ; an increase in the value of their property is therefore not altogether "unearned." And, secondly, pictures differ from land in this, that they do not as a rule rise in value with the progress of society. A few rise in value, and a great many more fall, and the picture-dealer takes his chance ; and it would be a gross injustice, while compelling him to bear his losses, to compel him also to relinquish the occasional gains which form their natural compensation. — *Essays on Political Economy*.

If this tax is to be imposed, no time ought to be lost about it. In old countries, where population is very numerous, and the soil long worked, the growth of rent is slow (I must repeat I speak not of leasing, but of scientific, rent, that is of rent, not of rents). With the extension of Free Trade this growth will become still slower. In Victoria, however, it has been hitherto rapid. In all cases it must have been something, and in some cases enormous, but every year will see it slacken its speed, while in a few years most of it will have passed from those who obtained it, in many instances, for microscopic sums, and some of it will have been exchanged in the market for its full productive present and perhaps perspective value, rent included.

So far we have only considered the claim of the State to a portion of the special natural value imparted to land by the general

* In the case of the Funds it is the country which gains, as it gets its loans at a lower rate, while the individual has to pay a higher price for the same interest.

operation of good government, peace and prosperity. An objection, however, sometimes heard, fitly introduces a peculiar factor in the colonial problem. A canal, a new line of conveyances, the establishment of superior shops, will bring about a rise in land values in their neighbourhood. "To whom," it is asked, "is this to belong?" If anybody could claim it, assuredly it ought to be the true authors of that rise. The abstract right is not difficult to settle. Now it so happens that the State is in the position of these last mentioned capitalists. At its own cost it has constructed roads and railways throughout the colony, and chiefly in the interest of the producer. The consumer, it is true, gains also, and gains largely, but not to the extent of the great mass of the producers, for the latter can always charge the price fetched in the market by that brought in under the least favourable conditions and from the greatest distance. As long, therefore, as one has to bring in food from a district deficient in carriage accommodation, all can charge that man's price. Moreover, the grower not only gets his produce transported more cheaply, but he derives an identical benefit with the consumer, when he draws his return supplies. This special rise, though similar to rent, yet as it is local and not general, the work, not of nature, but of a particular act of man, can scarcely be called without confusion, true rent. It, however, is clearly the same in kind with the value imparted by private enterprise. Why, then, does the State exercise a right to tax, not claimed by its private rivals? First, it may be said the assessment and collection might in this latter case be attended with more trouble and expense than the tax would bring in. Next, there is no guarantee for permanence such as a State undertaking offers. The tax might be paid, and the service for which it was given might come to an end the next day. But the essential distinction is this: The local benefactors may very well be trusted to take care of themselves. If they find their undertaking confers unusual benefits on the residents, they will soon see their way to compensate themselves through their charges. A private speculator is not likely to reduce his profits to oblige the pockets of his customers. But the works of the Government are for public convenience, not speculations for profit; nor will they ever be allowed to raise their charges much above the lowest point which will cover expenses. Their purpose is to provide the maximum benefit for the people, not to remunerate themselves highly. Now, those who have gained most have hitherto paid no more than those who have gained

least for a special favour extended to a few, chiefly at the expense of, and often at a financial loss to, the rest of the community. A land tax which possesses the local justification of, to some extent, remedying this, surely needs scant excuse.

It has been maintained that a tax on rent ought to be calculated with caution, so that the profits of capital sunk in land should not be touched. But such a calculation would involve a survey of such extreme nicety, that with our present available means it would prove as unsatisfactory as it must be expensive and protracted. For the present the rough and indifferent operation of a tax must be preferred. But such a tax should be a tax on value. On no possible grounds (except that of securing a forcible solvent of the large estates), can a charge on mere acreage be allowed. Those who speak of it, and there are some, evince—it is not too much to say—a total ignorance of the single principle which, it should be said boldly, redeems a land tax from being a crime and raises it into a policy. To be scientific, no less than to be honest, the charge on rent must fall on value, and to this the only feasible path that discloses itself lies through such a moderate but penetrating impost as shall do, if somewhat rude, at least substantial justice.

I feel called upon to make another observation. Although I cannot but think the disposition visible here, as in the world at large, in favour of a land tax and small properties to be based on sound principle and supported by the test of success in practice, still a suspicion must linger that in Victoria it is not the land but the squatters' land which it is sought to visit with legislation. That a general feeling should strongly exist against any class, though earnestly to be deprecated, affords much food for reflection. It is not short of a libel on our nature to say that class animosities may extensively prevail except in communities, now or lately, poor and enslaved. In old countries it is that class ill-feeling is most to be dreaded. When the door to riches and influence is open to all, wealth, though more than ever desired, ceases to be made an object of overt attack, excepting by that small minority who, conscious of vicious motives, are, moreover, careless about concealing them from the world. This general movement against the landed proprietors of Victoria evidences a belief that these have long enjoyed boons for which their services have not been an acknowledgment. Belonging to that body from which for special privileges conceded, a high recognition in return of social duties has in all free countries been exacted, as a class they cannot be said to

“have deserved well of their country.” They have looked coldly on at all national movements, have held aloof from contributions to public objects, and have made, too frequently, personal aims, not the first, but the only object in their horizon. Coming from a country where an exaggerated respect is paid to ownership of land, they seem to have hoped that its possession would have conferred on them the dignity of an English landlord with a release from his obligations, and in both they are likely to be mistaken. There are times when it becomes necessary to call a spade a spade. Victoria seems in danger of standing before the world as the first example of a British community where a raid on the property of a single class will have received the licence of law. And if we are to be saved this stain, if the outset of our career is not to be clouded by an act which sophistry may defend, but which conscience will not greatly care to distinguish from what is called robbery, it appears needful to speak words of plain meaning to those whose neglect of duty will have made them responsible in chief for their country’s shame. Apparently many of them have yet to learn that, as it should be in such a society as this, they have only their own merits to stand or fall by. Is it necessary to take the harsh course of reminding them that in many cases those claims from descent are totally wanting, the value of recognising which I should be the last to dispute as an offering of perpetual homage to the memory of worthy names, and a living evidence of virtue or services once well understood. In such cases much allowance may be made, but at least in England, where it would be most reasonable, it is most seldom called for. The saying of the Hebrew sage has indeed come true:—“How can they be wise whose talk is of bullocks?”—for public spirit is not the weakest of the forms of wisdom. There are exceptions, no doubt: there must be, since it can be only for their sake that all are left untouched in their places in the country: but do even these do what is expected of them? One man’s work may do a little; his example may do more; but the one effective way in which the ten righteous may do much is in bringing to bear their influence on their own order. In all days no more powerful regulator of the conduct of man has been found than the praise or censure of the class among which they move. I have sufficient confidence in my fellowmen to believe that if truth and duty be pressed upon them in this manner, they must prove triumphant. But, if not—*magna compono parvis*, it has been lately remarked that the

French Revolution was brought about not so much by tyranny as by an abuse of privileges.

A word as to the steps to be taken to foster the plantations of small cultivators. I confess strongly as I hold a numerous yeomanry essential, both on moral and commercial grounds, I can see no need as yet for taking special measures for the dispersion of the large properties lodged at present in the hands of a few owners. Such action would have an ugly sound, while like all indiscriminating legislation it would probably do much injury. The cultivation of some articles required by the country is (like beetroot and sheep, it is said, in France) most successful when conducted on a large scale ; and in Australia particularly there are vast tracts which can only be made a source of profit by being worked in large holdings. But what is chiefly to be relied on is the high probability that these large estates if left to themselves will fall to pieces naturally. With the abolition of entails and primogeniture, in a new country the commercial instincts of men will most likely come into full play. And if it be true, as I have urged, that the tiller being ready to work for a lower profit can offer the owner a higher price for his land, self-interest will generally turn the scale. It is well understood, too, that a general intention prevails among many of the landowners of having their properties distributed on their decease. But one generation is far too short to test the reality of this hope, and it is not too much to ask that at least the question should be an open one, and final action deferred until the 12,000,000 acres still available for selection shall have been taken up. And we may the more confidently ask this on the strength of American results. The evidence of that country, the most nearly resembling our own, is all important, and I must confess my astonishment that so little reference has been made to it on this question. A democracy of English race, under similar laws, taking possession of an unsettled land of boundless extent, yet mostly occupying a narrow strip of soil along the seaboard, with land obtainable in any quantity at a dollar an acre behind them, and animated apparently by much the same hopes, fears, and ambitions as their kinsfolk here ; where are we likely to find such a parallel ? And what is the sum of its testimony on this matter—does it lead us to expect aggregation or dispersion ? I take the Thirteen Original States, (for obvious reasons I exclude the Western), which, populous even in 1777, have now had a history of over a hundred years, and I find, according to the census returns, a steady process of

division going on for many years past. In 1851 there were in all 636,000 farms, which had increased in 1861 to 775,000, or by 21 per cent., while in 1871 there were 831,000, or a gain of 7 per cent. These figures need no comment. If the same conditions rule in Victoria and in the United States, it is evident there is no radical ground for apprehension as to the future.

I cannot close without expressing my conviction that the Land Act of 1862 richly deserved failure. In establishing the system of free selection at a low price, the State had to anticipate a double evasion—that the selectors should, instantly they got power over their conditional purchases, sell at a high profit that which, for public purposes, the State had granted them at a fraction of its value; and secondly, that it should be sold to those land-accumulators, whose operations it was one chief object of the Legislature to discourage. An Act, however, was passed which, with great *naïvete*, offered inducements for the one, and provided facilities for the other, of these courses. And yet, to all appearances, much of the injury done might have been avoided. It might only have been necessary to provide that the Government lien on the land should not cease until, in most cases, its full estimated value had been received. For this purpose there might have been two systems of selection; in the one case the present regulations might have been used, except that the instalments should be calculated to cover the ascertained market value of the selection. The purchasers in this instance might not, I admit, be at first very numerous, and probably would not include many desirable but poor farmers, who would be unable to accept these terms. A *bona fide* endeavour should also be made, therefore, to bring selection within the compass of persons of small means; for I am taking it that the policy of the present Act was to meet straitened circumstances, not to offer anything so demoralising as the promise of extraordinary profits on a low investment—a policy of bribery, if not of gambling. In this case the land might have been offered at the present price of one pound per acre, with the same conditions of residence and cultivation. In all transfers, however, it should be declared that the State must be a party. If the selector wished to leave his allotment, it should be offered in the first instance to the Government, who would pay him such a sum, appraised by arbitration, as would represent the instalments already received, plus the value imparted to the land by the selector's own exertions. Or if they choose to sanction a transfer, as might be sometimes advisable, they would receive the full value from the new purchaser

paying back to the selector his share as calculated above. This claim might continue for ten years, or any longer period, at the end of which time, on payment of, perhaps, half its subsisting value, the right of the selector might become absolute. As, however, the stimulus of a near prospect of acquiring the fee-simple would be useful, the selector ought, at any time after three years, to be allowed to convert his tenancy into a freehold, by paying up the full value as under the first system. To organise such a temporary department ought not to be much for a Government formed on the model of one which already transacts banking and life assurance; it would in fact be a kind of national *Credit Foncier*. As to the issue of mortgages, it might be best to entrust this function to one or more of the banks as the British Government entrusts a part of the management of the National Debt to the Banks of England and Ireland. If a foreclosure was necessary, the banks having sold the property (to the Government or otherwise, as arranged), might, after deducting their own charges, pay the balance into the Government account. It may be now perhaps too late to do anything in Victoria, but were some such plan followed out, we might yet succeed in saving sufficient to liquidate the public debt three times over.

To have gone into certain particulars, now under debate in the colony of Victoria, would clearly have been out of place; though I confess to a strong temptation to point out that, in putting at such a high figure the lowest grade of value to which the proposed land-tax is to apply, there is much risk that the tax may become, not merely a charge upon land which can pay no rent, but a charge of extreme severity. There is land in this colony whose natural value is far below twenty shillings an acre, and which, from a bad situation or sterility, has gained so little from the advance of the colony that it scarcely pays for the expense of occupation. Such land can hardly yet be said to have reached the rent-yielding point. For the tax to be at all complete, the poorest grades of land should be exempted from its operation. More I am unwilling to say, as I desire to keep aloof from party polemics.

It only remains to add the caution that, while the main doctrines of political economy in its scientific aspect appear to be clearly marked out, in undertaking to apply them as an art, conditions differing everywhere, and of which we may know but little, have to be taken into account. Hence, the unforeseen success of transient forces may lead to results which, while they afford the unthinking a temporary triumph, may surprise even the skilled economist.

The body in health will long defy the approaches of a decay, to which, under disease, it would fall an easy victim. Therefore, it is not to be supposed that if the principles thus laid down are neglected, the dangers we are warned to expect will at once be realised in their extreme or ideal degree. On the contrary, all we can be certain of at first is the evil tendency. But a day will arrive when, if these warnings remain unheeded, favouring causes will not further postpone, or countervail, the proper consequences of prejudice and mistake. At present the nation is young and vigorous, but the moment must come when, in its manhood, under the tightening strain of time and competition, it will become conscious, not more of its natural strength, than of the weakness it may have prepared for itself. And as it would heartily rejoice over the seeds early sown of honesty, wisdom, and patriotism, slowly but certainly fulfilling their promises, so surely will it have to lament the fruit born to it by the financial follies and moral blindness of what may be a remote past.

JOHN WINTHROP HACKETT.

OUR CHARITIES.

"You must remember, sir, that you are coming to a land which is not like England. Evils that are deeply rooted in England are there unknown. In Victoria there is no aristocracy, no standing army, no established Church, no Poor Law." These words, or words like these, addressed to me, not once nor twice alone, on board the mail steamer, as, two years and a half ago I was coming to Victoria, have often supplied me with food for reflection since. They merely serve me now as text for a disquisition on the last question that they suggest, viz, have we no need of a Poor Law, or are we able to fill its place with an efficient substitute? But first a word or two of preface. It is surely of advantage to consider the foundation upon which praise rests, whether praise of a country or praise of an individual. It is surely of advantage that institutions should be able to stand criticism. But the critic here may be almost said to take his life in his hand. If he has dared to doubt whether everything is arranged for the best, as in the best of all possible worlds, he stands a risk of violent attack. Before it was my good fortune to come to Victoria, I read with much interest a book called "Australia and New Zealand," by Mr. Anthony Trollope. The impression left on my mind by its perusal was that Australia was a pleasant land, not perfect indeed, but a country with more widespread happiness than England and without any of the extremes of misery which grate upon thoughtful minds at home. I know others also upon whom the same book left the same favourable impression. The author certainly criticizes what he considers defects; he is not blindly prejudiced in favour of everything colonial. Possibly in some of these points his own taste is in fault. My experience certainly leads me to a more favourable estimate of Victorian boys, and this is a matter wherein I should be happy to pit my experience and opinion against those of Mr. Trollope. But it has often been a matter of astonishment to me how violently hostile Victorians are to Mr. Trollope, because of his freedom of speech, hostile in private, hostile in the public press.

"No aristocracy!" It may fairly be hoped that the word is not used in any strict etymological sense. There are certainly no class barriers to be removed. The "all men are equal" of the American constitution is true on this continent as in the States, equal not only in the

eye of the law, but in the eye of society. The possibility of attaining the highest positions is open to all, provided that they have mental ability, energy, and industry. The only inequalities of station, except that given by mere wealth, will be found due to inequalities in gifts such as these.

"No standing army." "No established Church." The first cry takes one a long way back in English history. The second carries us forward to the future of English politics. Perhaps the experience of Australia on the latter point may be considered of value, when the struggle about disestablishment, by some deemed imminent, begins to be a burning question at home. Unfortunately, the experience will be by no means uniform. With the greater freedom and the more complete organization, we *may* have to send home the tale of greater deadness in spiritual life, of bush districts practically heathen, of wealthy Victoria accepting, if not soliciting, gifts from English missionary societies.

Let us pass, however, to the last point raised. It is of course strictly and literally true that we have nothing which we call a poor law; but it would be childish to exult merely in the absence of a name, if the thing exists under some other name. By a poor law is meant the provision that is made by a nation for the maintenance of its indigent members.

First let us consider the history of this question. The subject for the Latin Prize Essay at Oxford this year was "The Method of Poor Relief among the Ancients;" but until a copy of the successful essay shall reach us, it may be presumed there are very few amongst us, who could cast light upon the subject. Exposure at Sparta may have nipped the evil in the bud, and prevented those who were likely to come upon the State from growing up at all. In countries where so extremely logical a course as exposure was not practised, it cannot be doubted but that the doctrine of selection of the fittest must have asserted itself. There were doubtless shoals of beggars, as in Southern Europe of the present. The "panis" for which the mob shouted in imperial Rome was a direct ancestor of the relief to casuals in our modern cities, though the "Circenses" was a very poor and ineffectual substitute for the hard labor that is found so wholesome a check.

It was Christianity, however, that first gave birth to the spirit, which elevated the relief of distress and the maintenance of the indigent to the rank of a duty. And it was in the centres, that during the so-called "dark ages" kept true Christianity alive, in

the monasteries, that this spirit of charity was assiduously fostered. At the castle of a wasteful lord the beggar could partake of the rude abundance, and perhaps find shelter for the night, but at the religious house he was sure to obtain it, and find kindness with it, day after day, night after night. In the dark count of crimes against the mediæval monasteries, as some would frame it, or shall we not rather say, in the chequered pictures of good and evil that they present, their persistent charity must be remembered, even though the charity was sometimes unwise.

If any one wishes for proof that the monasteries did perform this work in the way of poor-relief, it may be found in the two statutes which follow so closely upon the heels of their suppression, each statute the first of a line of legislative enactments, the first Statute of Vagrants, and the first so-called Poor Law. When the monasteries were suppressed by Henry VIII and his minister, "The Hammer of the Monks," and their revenues diverted, the crowd that used to feed upon the wealth of the monasteries was scattered. For a long time the dispersed were discontented, and such discontent took the form of insurrection as in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Thinking men and statesmen began gradually to discern that in this crowd were two distinct elements—those who could and those who could not work. Those who could work and would not, who deliberately preferred to beg, were so numerous that they became a public nuisance, and the legislature decided in Henry VIII's reign that the sturdy and valiant beggar was to be whipped at the cart's tail. He was, however, too sturdy to be thus easily suppressed, and under Henry's greater daughter, Elizabeth, it was enacted that he was not only to be whipped, but to be branded in the ear, that whoever liked might put a collar on him and make him a servant. Rough treatment certainly, perhaps rougher than necessary. But I fancy that St. Paul was thinking of the "sturdy beggar" when he wrote: "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat."

But side by side with this provision for the "vagrom" men, for the idle mendicants, it was seen that something must be done for those who were plunged into want through no fault of their own, who through the infirmity of age, or through sickness, were unable to maintain themselves. It was felt, and rightly felt, that in a Christian land these could not be left to die. The result was the first poor-law, changed by statute after statute, taking final shape in the reign of Elizabeth, whose principle lasted until the new Poor Law of the Reform Bill era. The principle that underlies the

whole of the English Poor Law may be defined thus :—The State will not allow any man to die of want; the locality (now the parish, now the cluster of parishes called a Union, now even a congeries of Unions), is to support those who cannot support themselves. Those who can work must be made to work; so the house of their residence is called the Workhouse. Those who cannot work are to be supported without it. In England, the cost of maintenance is paid out of rates, *i.e.*, local contributions, expended under local, elected officers, called guardians of the poor. A general control is vested in a central official board.

Now I venture to maintain that this principle has been adopted in Victoria; that here, also, the State will not suffer any man to die of want. It does not in any way interfere with the principle, that the cost is thrown upon taxes—national contributions, instead of rates, or that no officers are elected or appointed to look after its expenditure. The State pays large sums every year for poor relief, but hands this over to committees, in the appointment of which it has neither voice, nor the semblance of a voice.

The giving of poor relief is overshadowed at every time, in every place, by the difficulty of one great problem—How can we distinguish the deserving from the undeserving, the “sturdy beggar” from the rightful applicant for relief? In the solution of this problem private charity on one side seems too soft. It is liable to be too often imposed upon by the “sturdy beggar.” Officials on the other hand are hardhearted, and apt to refuse relief even to the fit subject for it. The true solution lies in some union of the two methods. But the Victorian solution is that the State should give three-fourths of the money, and allow the private charity to hansom it. The Treasurer, with sanction of Parliament, divides; the Committees spend, and have been known to talk of snapping fingers at the Government when making a moderate and reasonable suggestion.

There are reasons why the burden of poor relief should be thrown upon the taxes rather than upon the rates. In a new and thinly populated country local institutions will in many parts be very new and in consequence weak. It is wise to foster them. Not only the charity vote but other contributions have to be made from the national funds in support of local government. The making of main roads and bridges, which in the old country is a local charge, is here paid out of the national exchequer, because it is thought that a sparsely populated district would neglect a duty that would be so

expensive, and because so much of the revenue is still derived from the sale of land. But it is a question whether the time has not come when a stand should be made; whether it would not now be better to define local charges, and to refuse assistance out of the national treasury. There is something pitiful in the sight of deputation after deputation going begging to the Treasurer for a bridge or a road, a pier or a railway. "Give, give," they cry. There is something worse than pitiful in the knowledge that local subsidies can be made a means of corrupting Government at its source. "If you want a thing well done, do it yourself," is an old and true saying, and "do it yourselves" ought to be the answer of the Treasurer defending the nation's purse, an answer which the whole colony from one end to the other should vigorously support.

For the information of those who complacently say that we have no poor law in Victoria, and who lead the unwary to infer thence that we have no poor, I have had the following table compiled. It seems to me that a return of this sort should be prepared every year by the Government for public information:—

—	Government Grant.			Subscriptions.			Income from other sources.			No. of Patients.	
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	In.	Out.
HOSPITALS.											
a Alexandra ...	100	0	0	205	13	4	(Included)			31	14
Amherst ...	1500	0	0	No return							
Ararat ...	1200	0	0	749	10	0	145	17	11	364	414
Ballarat ...	4570	0	0	2090	13	1	(Included)			981	4058
Belfast ...	500	0	0	337	15	1	17	12	2	140	
b Bendigo ...	4800	0	0	1798	1	4	1634	14	3	1290	1360
Castlemaine ...	2335	0	0	1177	6	9	148	14	0	882	2953
c Clunes ...	750	0	0	736	9	11	18	16	11	200	500-600
d Creswick ...	1250	0	0	456	14	3	43	15	0	246	6870
Daylesford ...	1000	0	0	182	14	1	261	16	15	184	331
Dunolly ...	1237	0	0	620	4	1	10	8	5	278	3570
										Attendances	
e Geelong Infirmary ...	3525	0	0	1099	10	11	950	9	5	1128	2373
f Gippsland ...	265	0	0	645	14	0	308	8	7	246	47
Hamilton ...	800	0	0	No return			...				
Heathcote ...	500	0	0	...			...
Horsham ...	500	0	0	515	13	8	806	19	6	167	...
g Inglewood ...	1300	0	0	316	16	6	309	5	6	405	357
Kilmore ...	750	0	0	No return			...				
Kyneton ...	1200	0	0	801	2	6	245	3	0	326	2071
l Maldon ...	335	0	0	167	9	9	22	6	0	52	45
Mansfield ...	75	0	0	278	18	9	20	0	0	62	7
Maryborough ...	2200	0	0	583	10	11	524	3	8	21986	
										Daily treatments	
Melbourne ...	15,000	0	0	5460	17	5	2734	6	1	24437	Altogether
i " Alfred ...	3500	0	0	1738	10	11	752	9	7	1031	2383
" Eye and Ear ...	600	0	0	588	18	0	210	1	3	165	2606
" Homœopathic ...	500	0	0	318	4	4	273	2	9	55	1193
j " Lying-in ...	1562	0	0	1205	15	11	1213	18	1	660	1126
" Sick Children ...	...			844	19	0	510	2	1	88	2587
k Ovens... ..	3500	0	0	1054	18	7	619	5	8	532	42
l Pleasant Creek ...	1600	0	0	939	3	3	144	15	4	446	560
Portland ...	600	0	0	277	3	6	25	15	6	63	1608
St. Arnaud ...	500	0	0	787	13	2	226	2	5	179	168

	Government Grant.			Subscription.			Income from other sources.			No. of Patients.	
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	In.	Out.
HOSPITALS.											
Swan Hill ...	1000	0	0	796	15	8	26	2	0	180	1086
Upper Goulburn ...	800	0	0	218	4	0	777	11	4	71	59
Wangaratta ...	900	0	0	720	8	4	192	6	1	217	191
Warrnambool ...	650	0	0	391	8	7	215	16	1	101	...
ASYLUMS.											
Asylum and School for the Blind ...	1950	0	0	1734	0	11	2055	19	11	103	Inmates
Deaf & Dumb Institution	1800	0	0	476	7	0	1003	17	4	86	do.
BENEVOLENT ASYLUMS.											
Ballarat ...	6500	0	0	2473	9	11	119	8	1	401	do.
Bendigo ...	3000	0	0	722	9	6	1988	17	9	108	do.
10723 out-door reliefs.											
* Castlemaine ...	1430	0	0	673	13	6	(Included)			119	273
* Melbourne ...	7500	0	0	2081	7	11	1375	9	3	889	Inmates
Ovens ...	1500	0	0	785	17	6	40	17	7	68	1367
ORPHAN ASYLUMS.											
Ballarat ...	2000	0	0	No return							
Geelong, Protestant ...	1500	0	0	449	10	11	18	19	0	115	
o Melbourne, Protestant	4052	0	0	1223	19	4	589	9	11	287	Daily average
Our Lady's, Geelong...	1000	0	0	No return							
St. Augustine's, Geelong	800	0	0	272	0	8	176	15	4	86	
St. Vincent de Paul's	1515	5	2	1756	18	4	...			164	Daily average
REFUGES.											
p Abbotsford ...	950	0	0	175	19	0	3681	5	1	244	Females
Madeline-street Refuge	300	0	0	No return							
ASSOCIATIONS AND SOCIETIES.											
q Geelong Ladies' Benevolent Association ...	450	0	0	98	16	3	875	13	1	352	Families
Immigrants' Aid Society	5325	0	0	522	9	6	1645	12	2	470	Daily average
Jewish Philanthropic Society ...	300	0	0	No return							
Melbourne Ladies' Benevolent Society	3500	0	0	1154	16	3	617	2	3	1342	Families
Victoria Humane Socy.	167	0	0	241	16	6	...			30	
											Medals awarded

a Daily average, 4. b Easter Fair, £1010. c Daily average, 29 in-patients. d Daily average, 23 in, and 22 out-patients. e Paying patients, £226 7s. 4d.; daily average, 179 in. f Also received legacy, £2000. g Daily average, 35 in-patients. h Balance from last year, £118 15s. 10d. Seven persons wholly maintained. i Casualties, 2562; Hospital Sunday, £893 18s. 11d. j Including legacy, £782 6s. 7d. k Daily average in-patients, 59. l Balance from last year, £120 19s. 5d. m Average cost, indoor, 6s. 9d. per week; outdoor, 68 families, costing 2s. 5½d. per week each. n 235 under medical treatment. o Average cost, 6s. 11d. per week for maintenance. Balance from last year, £544 14s. 5d. p Earnings, £2045 6s. 11d. q 11 aged women maintained in the Home.

The Government makes the condition that £1 must be raised by private contributions, for every £3 which it will give from the Treasury, but it will pay this in dribblets. The only institution in whose favour this condition is regularly relaxed is the Immigrants' Home—misnomer ludicrous, if not worse than ludicrous, for it is really the national Work House, to which the Treasurer contributes largely but has no control over its management. The list furnishes food for several reflections.

1. If the working classes are well off in this country, and well able to pay for medical treatment, is it wise to give it them for nothing? The roots of providence are cut away, if provision is thus made for those who are very well able to provide for themselves. Is it wise to destroy self-respect?

2. This list of charities does not include Lunatic Asylums, but it is well known that in these some of the inmates would, in England, be in the work-house rather than in the asylum. Therefore the whole annual contribution of the State towards the maintenance of the poor is not covered by £120,000.

3. In the subscriptions are, in several cases, included contributions from Shire Councils; but how do they obtain their revenues? The rates are positively used as a means of extracting more from the taxes.

4. The Hospital Sunday movement creates a great deal of enthusiasm here, as in England. The union of the Churches in the work of charity naturally excites it. But in England many of the hospitals are supported entirely by private contributions, none out of rate or tax. Here all sums of money that are put into the church plate may be regarded, not as in relief of taxation, but as a sum of money paid to extract a larger amount of taxation.

It is impossible to estimate accurately the charitable institutions that are not included in the list, or what amount is received or used by them. But put the figure as high as we like, it still remains that a large part of our charity is paid by taxation. In other words, we have a national system of poor relief. It cannot be considered a hard proposal that if the Government contributes so large a portion of the funds of these hospitals and charities, it should also have a potent voice in their management. The Government gives £9000 a year to the University of Melbourne, but even the Minister of Public Instruction has not at present a seat at the council. This it is now proposed to alter, and the suggestion is at least worth offering, whether in future all subsidies from the Government should not be accompanied by the condition that the Government should be permitted to nominate a proportionate number of members upon the board of any institution receiving the subsidy. At present several of the institutions are governed by committees elected by an annual meeting at which, according to the newspapers, seven, eight, or nine persons are often present. In fact, unless there is a public scandal, these meetings are generally a farce. They do not really gauge the public interest in the institutions, and it would

be worth while considering whether some of the Melbourne meetings could not with advantage be amalgamated. Busy men, who could not find time for the annual meeting of each society, might yet be able to attend one meeting held on behalf of several.

But beyond and above these official seats, central organisation is also required with power to control the whole. It cannot be from any fear of excessive centralisation that such an organ has never been attempted in this country ! The judicious expenditure of so large a sum as £120,000 demands at least the appointment of Inspectors, if not of a Board, which should bring the whole into a system. Or if their rightful burdens were placed upon local bodies, then a Local Government Board would be required to see that they did their duty, to which the supreme control of the charities could be left.

Perhaps, however, the work of making a harmonious whole out of the charities of Victoria might be more efficiently and better arranged by a private Charity Organisation Society. Probably most of the readers of this *Review* have heard something of the success of a Society with this name in London. If they would like to read its enthusiastic praises, let them read a sermon by Mr. Haweis, in his work called "Current Coin." If such a Society were established in Melbourne its duties would be—to collect information about the different charitable institutions, to promote conferences between their directors on points where they seemed likely to clash, accepting contributions from the charitable to undertake the work of distributing them among the societies, but never directly to applicants for relief, and in the same way after investigating cases, to refer applicants to the institutions whose proper function it would be to relieve them ; in a word, to be the heart and brain of our charitable system, to warn, advise, exhort. Such a Society would give for the most intelligent in the community interesting and useful employment. Such a Society might serve as a Charity Commission and as an Anti-Mendicity Society—an institution very much wanted.

There is a great difference between the field for philanthropy in England and Victoria. In England those who think and feel bear a great burden of sorrow for the condition of the labouring poor, the toiling millions. They know that many of these working men go forth morning after morning from squalid homes, to find them more squalid on return at night ; that their life is a life of unremitting labour, lightened by few holidays, cheered by few pleasures, and that

this condition is in many cases not at all their own fault. The race is not one in which every runner has a fair start; many are hopelessly weighted from the first. You cannot blame the residents for the squalor of the east of London; you cannot blame the Dorsetshire labourer if his life be but little superior to that of the beasts that perish. The philanthropist, in England, feels the burden of a state of society that he may, perhaps, by unremitting exertion mitigate, but cannot alter. Such an one should breathe more freely in Victoria. He can shake off the thought of the million of paupers in England and of the hardships of those who, just keeping off the rates themselves, are forced to contribute to them. Here the working man is better off; he receives better wages, and the necessities of life are cheaper. Building Societies help him to become his own landlord. To his house he probably adds a bath-room. He has frequent holidays, which he rationally enjoys. I have heard the assertion disputed, but I firmly believe that in consequence of all these advantages the working man in Victoria is beyond all doubt more sober and a better man than his brother in England.

Yet *suum cuique*. The burdens of the world are pretty fairly divided, and there is a trouble here which may haunt the philanthropist in Melbourne, a thought from the burden of which those who think and feel for others cannot escape. The really poor here are of a wholly different class, and the charity that is required in Melbourne is of a peculiar kind. The poor here are those who ought not to be poor. A schoolfellow at Rugby is driving a cab; he calls to say that his license will be stopped unless for auld lang syne you will help him. This man, whom you knew at Oxford, comes in the greatest distress; you help him, and he calls again. Ex-officers in the army—what matter it whether it be Indian line or English cavalry regiment?—who give you evidence that proves their story true, find themselves in a land where they have not the aptitude to succeed. A barrister who expected to find Melbourne streets paved with gold, but could find no work to do, and so took to drinking; a schoolmaster, who has walked all the way from Sydney, and according to his own tale cannot hear of employment; foreigners of every nation with stories that vary from the true through the probable to the wholly false; *mauvais sujets* pensioned by their families on condition of remaining in Australia; those who have not succeeded through want of energy or want of steadiness; those who cannot refrain from the brandy bottle; these make up a most formidable

list of the educated in distress. We have all been interested of late in a series of articles in one of the daily papers, which began with thrilling interest, if they ended in gossip and persiflage. It has been a subject of regret that in the collected edition, the first of the series, and to my mind far the most interesting, has been omitted. We have no reason to believe that the picture it gave of the homeless and houseless, the vagabonds of Melbourne, was untrue. Of course England has vagabonds, and every other country too; but our crop is unusually rich, and out of all proportion to our population. "These are our failures," said Brummel's valet, with his armful of neckties. Surely the nations of the world have shot their "failures" here.

I do not lay claim to undue tenderness or to more than my share of philanthropy, but I confess that the knowledge of the distress of these educated men—treat it how one will, help it or refuse to help it—persecutes me by day and haunts my dreams by night. Yet others can hardly think as I do. The annual income of the Society for the Relief of Educated Persons in distress amounted last year to £203, £50 of which was given by one rich man.

These remarks have ranged over a wide field. I plead guilty at once to the accusation that they are fragmentary and sketchy. I allow to the fullest extent that they in no way exhaust the subject. But if they are found suggestive, if they make men and women think about it, I gladly surrender them to public criticism, and shall feel that they have not been written in vain.

EDWARD E. MORRIS.

VICTORIAN MATRIMONY.

"Housekeeping's dead."—*Bishop Hall, B. V., Sat. II.*

"Therein a cancr'd, crabbed carle does dwell,
That has no skill of Court nor courtesie."—*Spenser, F. Q., III., 1x-3.*

The sound tree is without flaw ;
The presence of the canker is known by her track.

IN Victoria there are over ninety-three thousand* bachelors, nearly eighty thousand spinsters, of marriageable age, and nearly five thousand marriages took place in 1876; yet about two thousand more were required during the year to put Victoria on a par with the average marriage rate of the other Australian colonies.† In other words, where one hundred girls marry on the average of the other Australian colonies, only seventy-one mate in Victoria. The girls of Victoria are wanting neither in beauty, form, domestic aptitude, nor proportionate numbers. Why do they not wed?

The importance of this question is not to be under-rated; for it is evident that the best progress of a country is dependent upon its settled population; that married people are more settled than single people; and that, when children are added to the family, so many sheet-anchors are thrown out, each additional one tending in a compound ratio to prevent departure from the place which forms their home. Moreover, women are essentially conservative, rarely approving of ventures which, while throwing up the existing certainty, give promise of but a doubtful future. They are therefore seldom migratory, except on compulsion of poverty, hope of excessive gain, or strong pressure of interest. The members of such a family, settling down in a country district, tend by steady labour with ordinary care, to improve the land on which they live, and to add to the general store; their house becomes their own; they attach land in the neighbourhood, become producers, and have a stake and a personal interest in the well-being of the colony.

* All Victorian numbers are founded on Victorian Statistics, as published in the *Statistical Register*; or in Mr. H. Heylyn Hayter's admirable *Victorian Year Book*.

† Since the migratory populations of Tasmania and Western Australia were in such an unsatisfactory state, these colonies are only included in such general calculations, except when expressly so stated.

It may therefore be assumed that, for a growing country, a married population is the most settled, therefore the most valuable; and that the prosperity and real progress of a country may be estimated by the proportionate number of such families.

Nor is it a matter unimportant to the fathers of daughters, nor perhaps altogether to the daughters themselves, that during the last twelve years, over sixteen thousand more girls would have been married, had the average yearly rate of the other colonies been maintained here: and more, unless the matrimonial course, which Victoria has for years adopted, should undergo such a change as would appear to be little short of miraculous, not only will they never be married, but their ranks will be yearly increased by two thousand, more or less, according to the increase or decrease of the population. Moreover, should the rate of decrease of the last twelve years be continued, in fifty more years there will not be a wedding in the colony.

One result to a country of this kind of thing is seen in the case of France and Germany.* The population of France in 1861 was about thirty-seven and a-half millions; that of Prussia about eighteen and a-half millions. During the ensuing eight years the former was at peace, the latter at war: yet by 1869 she had increased her numbers by nearly six millions; but France, by less than one million. Much of this was at least probably due to deficient marriage, and the limitation of children. The Franco-German war of 1870 followed, and France was defeated: but is it not possible that the difference in the above customs of the countries, and therefore of the proportionate quantity of vigorous youth and healthy nationality, may have been the direct cause of the result of that war?

In looking back at the black list showing this comparative unreadiness on the part of the girls to mate, we find that in 1865 over two thousand failed in their duty; but that, from that year to 1870, the rate so declined that for that year, only six hundred and seventeen maintained their solitary independence; yet this rate has from that date so crept up, that in 1863 nearly sixteen hundred, in 1874 nearly seventeen hundred, in 1875 over eighteen hundred, and in 1876 nearly two thousand girls asserted their right for ever to veto the matrimonial proposals of the weaker, though more masculine sex.

* *Die Volkskraft Deutschlands und Frankreich's Statistische Skizze.* Von A. Freiherr Von Fricks.

If it be that these hold with Dryden, and singly sing—

“Give me, to live and die,
A spotless maid, without the marriage-tie,”

then to these, and such as these, one would commend the words of Taylor—

“Some married persons, even in their marriage, do better please God than some virgins in their state of virginity: they, by giving great examples of conjugal affection, by preserving their faith unbroken, and by educating children in the fear of God, please God in a higher degree than those virgins whose piety is not answerable to their opportunities.”

It may be, however, that these ladies form part of a league for the purpose of placing the men in their proper, and yet more than heretofore inferior position, by entering into competition with them in labour of various kinds; ousting them by taking such lower salaries and wages as the men cannot live upon, and thus driving them from the colony. But as these ladies are numerous, increasing and powerful, so, if this be the solution of the primal question, should they be patriotic, not to say pitiful (said to be akin to love); and remember that, whereas the single woman has only to provide for herself, and can therefore work cheaply, the man who would marry her would provide not only for her, but for the family that would grow up about them; and that, in thus cheapening labour, she but drives away from the country the class which has been shown to be the most valuable.

But if she, “Thus have shunned the marriage-state,” fearing to be imposed upon, having all ante-matrimonial power she need not hesitate to follow the example of her earlier sister in ensuring her much-beloved rites, mentioned by Addison: “In a late draught of marriage articles, a lady stipulated with her husband that she shall be at liberty to patch on which side she pleases;” and such toilet requisites could even now be duly stippled on in black, and white, and red, with such legal padding as the aforesaid case may seem to need, to make it perfect.

Nor is the consequence of the action of these Hypatias to be overlooked. The child born on the soil owns the colony as his country; he is not a mere importation, choosing the land but as his temporary resting-place, equalled in his opinion by any spot where he can make as large an income. The born Victorian should well know the habits and institutions of his country, and find about him modes of life less patent to the immigrant; he should be a fixture, and a source of wealth, progress, and pride to his well-beloved

country. It is therefore sad to know that the deficiency in matrimony during the last twelve years has deprived the country of more than sixty-five thousand* such advantages; of whom about twenty-five thousand would have lived over the age of twenty-five years, and formed a magnificent army of seasoned Victorians, full of patriotism for their native country.

Each man is found to have a direct money value, which is variously shown in different ways. Some colonies give the immigrant encouragement to come to them, pointing out the advantages he will have in joining them, puffing their progress and prosperity; yet on his arrival do their utmost to prevent his remaining, by charging for necessities of life higher prices than they are worth elsewhere, and providing little work at small proportionate pay. Some give material assistance in the passage; and, on his arrival, show him how to make an income. Some pay all his travelling expenses, and give him so many acres of land for his own in his adopted land; and some countries even yet buy him "body and soul." England with her crowded population of 422 persons to the square mile, estimates the value of each Norfolk agricultural labourer of twenty-five years of age at £246;† to Victoria, with her undeveloped soil, and an area much more than half as large again, such a man should be worth much more than that sum: thus the money loss to the colony from deficiency of births of males, who would have arrived at the age of twenty-five years, and numbered fourteen thousand, is three million four hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds; to which compound interest has to be added for as many future husbands and progeny. This money-value does not include the thirteen thousand girls; they being priceless and therefore inestimable.

Are the girls really responsible for this loss to their country? I regret that it is impossible to prove by statistics the proportionate number of refusals of offers of marriage by the girls of Victoria in comparison with those of the neighbouring colonies; but if the affirmative of this proposition could be made certain, it would not be too much to go to the House with a petition, signed by the burthened ratepayers, praying that the taxes which would have been paid by

* Has not Graunt said—"Every wedding, one with another, produces four children, and that is the proportion of children which any marriageable man or woman may be presumed shall have"?

† Statistical Report of Registrar General of England, quoted by Sir George Verdon.

the above-named prospective legion and a half, should be imposed upon the recalcitrant spinsters who have failed in their duty to their country. But if their numbers, their influence, their charms should enable them, from their place in the House, to defeat such a proposition,

“Then must the sex be merciful,”

for Hufeland, in his “Art of Prolonging Life,” says that no bachelors attain advanced age: and that no idler, or man without a professed occupation, becomes very old. Again, in the journal of the Statistical Society, it is thus stated: “It appears that the death-rate of married men is at all periods of life lower than that of the unmarried;” and this is after making allowances for the non-marrying of the unhealthy and the profligate. If, then, the sex refuse to “Take their bond,”

“Their deeds upon their head:
And, if it be prov'd against a woman,
That, by direct or indirect attempts,
She seek to mar* the life of any citizen;
The party, 'gainst the which she doth contrive,
Shall seize one half her goods; the other half
Comes to the privy coffer of the State;
And the offender's life lies in the mercy
Of the Gov'nor only, 'gainst all other voice;”

always commending to such governors so placed, the words of Sir Thomas Elyot: “But nowe, to speake of the inestimable price and value of mercy. Lette governours, whyche knowe that they have received their power from above, revolve in their myndes in what perylle they themselfe be dailye, if in God were not abundance of mercy.” †

But if deficiency in Victorian Matrimony be not due to the girls, it must be that the men are responsible; and, if this be so, it should be possible to find the reason thereof, and to trace out from various sources of information the cause of the anomaly. The question then now before us is, “Why don't the men propose?”

A correct conclusion can only be arrived at by the argument of exclusion as well as of fact; for, the subject being compound, it would, were the latter line only adopted, always be possible to assume the existence of such other forces and conditions as had not

* *I.e.*, by not marrying him: *Lucus a non luoendo*.

† “That a Governour ought to be mercifull.”—B. 2, cap. 7.

been discussed. To this end, matrimony in Victoria will first be compared with that in other colonies and countries; and afterwards considered with reference to her own statistics and institutions.

On reference to the table of marriage-rates in the Australasian colonies from 1865, we find the following summary:—*“As compared with the inhabitants of the colony, the marriages (of Victoria) have been declining for years past. In none of the other Australasian colonies has the marriage-rate been decreasing to a like extent; indeed, in most of them it has, within the last few years, been increasing.” The figures, in a condensed form, stand thus:—

MARRIAGE RATES IN AUSTRALIAN COLONIES FROM 1865 TO 1875.

YEAR.	NUMBER OF MARRIAGES† PER 1000 OF THE MEAN POPULATION.							
	Victoria.	Tasmania.	Western Australia	Queensland.	New Zealand.	N. S. Wales.	South Australia	Mean of the last 4 Colonies.
1865	7·29	6·27	1st year given (1872) 5·56	13·27	10·47	8·90	9·45	10·52
Lowest in any succeeding year.	(1876) 5·96	(1871) 5·90		(1870) 7·80	(1872) 6·85	(1872) 7·42	(1871) 6·77	7·21
1875	6·12	6·63	7·26	8·63	8·94	7·73	8·01	8·32
Mean since 1865	6·54	6·33	6·52	9·13	8·57	7·90	7·69	8·32

Thus the Victorian average marriage-rate is lower than that of any Victorian colony, except Western Australia and Tasmania; yet both of these have been higher than Victoria since 1874, and the former has been rapidly rising since 1873; Tasmania ‡ also steadily since 1871, in which year her marriage-rate reached the lowest point ever descended to in the history of the colonies since the third year of the life of Victoria in 1838: to a similar depth Victoria has also sunk in 1876.

The marriage-rate of some colonies has been steadily increasing during the last four or five years, as in South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand; while New South Wales and

* *Hayter's Victorian Year Book* for 1875.

† The numbers in this table doubled give the persons married during the year in every thousand of the population. For the convenience of those unaccustomed to decimals, one may state that the numbers after the dot, being fractions of a marriage, need not be noticed.

‡ Tasmania's statistics for 1876 show a marked improvement: her marriage rate is 7·13.

Queensland are about stationary at good proportions, particularly the latter. Victoria has as steadily declined, leaving the present standard level of the advancing colonies about the year 1860, from which date to the present the decrease has been so regular as to show scarcely a variation of improvement, however slight, to break the gloom. Victoria is in debt sixteen thousand one hundred and three marriages for the last twelve years, on the colonial average.

On comparison, too, with Great Britain, we find a similar disproportion. The Registrar-General of England has written :—"We have arrived at certain ultimate units in vital statistics; for example, it is a matter of absolute certainty that, in ordinary years, the marriage rate is 8·46 per thousand of the mean population of the year." In 1873 the marriage rate in England was 8·80, and in 1874, 8·55. In taking the average of 8·46, extending over twenty years, we find that Victoria is behind England and Wales 2124 marriages for the year 1876 in proportion to her population. She is similarly indolent in comparison with other European countries; the numbers against her being somewhat larger, if averages of Austria or Prussia be taken; and somewhat smaller on the scales of Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, France, Spain, or Italy. To compare equally with Sweden, which has the smallest rate of these European countries, Victoria wants about thirteen hundred weddings for 1876. In fact, not to multiply examples and be additionally wearisome, it is a fact that no European country, whose statistics pretend to accuracy, has a marriage rate in any way approaching the gulph exhibited by Victoria; and that no Australian colony is so low, nor even approaches it, unless Tasmania, which it has been shown is above Victoria and improving, while the latter is retrograding. Thus, taking a general average, her marriages are less than three to every four in those colonies and countries.

The population of Victoria is nearly nine persons and a half to each square mile, which is considerably more than double that of any other Australian colony; Tasmania having, in 1874, nearly four; New South Wales, less than two; Queensland and South Australia, one person to five square miles, and Western Australia, one in fifty square miles. Again, England has 422 persons to each square mile; and Scotland, the least thickly populated part of the United Kingdom, has 110; while China, with her population of four hundred millions, has 268 persons to the square mile; and Bengal revels in 521 and universal marriage.

It is thus evident that the comparative density of the populations of any of these colonies should be no bar to extensive matrimony; for the people of England marry half as much again as do the inhabitants of Victoria, who has only one person to their forty-four in proportion to land.

Nor can this condition of population to area be said to show any ratio to the marriage state; for New Zealand is about equal in population, in proportion to area, to Tasmania, yet the former has the present highest colonial marriage rate, and the latter almost the smallest. Similarly is there an absence of special relation through all these figures.

With reference to the proportion of the sexes in all the colonies, there are more males than females, there being in Queensland a hundred males to every sixty-seven females; and in South Australia, a hundred to ninety-five; while Victoria steers in the middle, with a hundred males to eighty-four females. So far as a general consideration of these proportions goes, it is therefore evident that deficient matrimony does not arise from want of males, or disproportion of females.

If the question be further gone into, and considered from the point of the proportionate numbers of the men and women who are of marriageable age, we find a similar absence of direct answer to our original question; for, had we the New South Wales number in proportion to population, we should have over eleven thousand more marriageable bachelors, and four thousand more spinsters; if that of New Zealand, nearly twenty-six thousand more bachelors, but more than seven thousand less spinsters; on the South Australian rate, however, there would be over thirty-five thousand less bachelors, and more than six thousand less spinsters. Yet, in spite of these great variations in proportions, the marriage rates are high and similar, while that of Victoria is below all comparison. Taking a general average for those colonies, Victoria is found to be deficient a little over a thousand bachelors, and to have about a thousand spinsters in excess. Our proportion of marriageable bachelors and spinsters is, therefore, sufficient for an average matrimonial rate.

On a cursory glance at the numbers and dates of children born in Victoria, it might be assumed with some apparent reason that the mass, or an undue proportion of the population, is under-age; that therefore they cannot yet marry, but that the marriage rate will improve as time goes on and they become older. On more careful examination, however, this argument is found to be insufficient to

account for deficient Victorian matrimony. If we take the average of the populations of the progressive neighbouring colonies—New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland, and New Zealand—and compare it with Victoria, it will be found that in 1871 Victoria had 16,199 minors in excess of her rightful number. By minors is meant males under twenty years of age, and females under fifteen; yet, allowing for a reduction in population to this extent, the rate for 1871 would only be reduced by 102 marriages; but the deficiency for that year was 805, so that 703 were yet required to make up the balance. The same state of things, however, does not apply for 1876; for the birth rate of Victoria has, during the last five years, been so much less than that of the above-mentioned colonies as materially to reduce the proportion of her relatively youthful population. During this period she is, on the average, deficient over twenty thousand births, of which say 13,500 would have been alive in 1876. The excess of children at that age is therefore reduced to about 2600; and allowing for this reduction in the youthful population, fifteen of the deficient marriages in 1876 would have been accounted for; not so, however, the remaining 1945 required to bring Victoria to a similar rate with the other colonies.

Nor do the occupations of the people give any decided clue to the deficiency-in-matrimony question. The numbers of the people of Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, and New Zealand, employed in the learned professions and in skilled work and manufactures are, proportionately to the populations, about the same; New Zealand being in the latter case a-head of Victoria, who also is somewhat deficient in proportion in the numbers employed in the Government service, in the "domestic" class, more so in unskilled labour and as mariners, and particularly in those engaged in the cultivation and grazing of land; here she is about 30,000 short of her proportionate number as compared with the above-mentioned other colonies. Victoria, however, exceeds New South Wales and South Australia in persons engaged in commerce; but is proportionately about equalled by New Zealand, who also employs more in the supply of personal wants in the matter of provisions. In mining more persons are employed in Victoria; but New Zealand is only about 200 proportionately deficient. Victoria also easily carries off the palm in the excess of her numbers in asylums, hospitals, and gaols; wherein she has from treble to a third more than the proportionate numbers of the colonies mentioned.

It will be seen that the occupations have not been compared

number for number in the different colonies ; which would be absurd since the populations differ so much in extent, but proportionately to the numbers of the whole population. The only actual figures which exceed those of Victoria, are those of New South Wales in persons employed on land ; and again in unskilled labour and as mariners.

Of women, New South Wales employs proportionately half as many again as Victoria ; but South Australia and New Zealand are below the Victorian standard.

From these general considerations it would appear that, so far as employment goes, no decided evidence tending to answer our question is obtained, the greatest proportionate discrepancy being in land ; yet a difference of employment of 30,000 persons in a population of about 800,000 should be comparatively unimportant ; and, assuming that such a number married up to a full average, only 75 additional annual marriages would be accounted for, leaving still a deficiency of 1925 per annum. It is thus useless to enquire into the marriage tendencies of any particular class of occupation of the people ; for Victoria has therein no special peculiarity or condition exceptional to the proportion of the other colonies. The occupations of the people as compared with these other colonies do not account for the Victorian backwardness in marriage.

The proportionate numbers of married people in the various large towns of the Australian colonies do not much vary. Melbourne contains more married people than any other similar town, but not in any great excess. Adelaide has least ; but had Melbourne her proportion, she would be little less than three thousand short of her present number. This figure is about a twentieth part of her married population.

No colony, however, has so large a city as Melbourne, either in actual number of people, or in proportion to the whole population of the colony. New South Wales approaches most closely with Sydney ; but, according to her proportion, Melbourne would be smaller by every eleventh person ; while Adelaide and Brisbane's proportions would reduce her to half her present size. In this respect she probably exceeds any city of any country in the world having a territory ; not excepting London. The advantage thereof however, is very questionable.

This large proportionate size of Melbourne should not interfere with the extent of her married population, with reference to that of the remainder of the country, for the marriage relations of New

South Wales and Sydney, and of Queensland and Brisbane, in which cities the people are more married than in the country, are almost identical with those of Victoria and Melbourne; the order of which is, however, reversed in the case of South Australia and Adelaide, where the married folk live more outside than in Adelaide. While, however, the inhabitants of a town may be more or less married, no evidence is thereby afforded of the annual marriage-rate therein; for they may arrive there already married. The only colonies which I am in a position to compare for 1876 in this respect, are Victoria and New South Wales. Here we find the primary difference that the former has, as before stated, a marriage-rate for the whole colony of 5·96* to every thousand of the population; but New South Wales of 7·51, which is unusually low, being one marriage per thousand less than she should have. The ratio for Melbourne and her suburbs is 8·55 marriages per thousand, but that of Sydney and her suburbs is 9·90; the proportion for Victoria, excluding Melbourne and suburbs, is 6·24, but for New South Wales, excluding Sydney and suburbs, is 6·45. It is thus evident that the country districts in Victoria and New South Wales are very similar in marriage-rates, though a little in favour of the latter: while the main failure of this colony seems to be dependent on the insufficiency of Melbourne and suburbs therein—she being nearly a marriage and a-half per thousand deficient for the year 1876.

Comparing the birth-rate, too, of these colonies for 1876, it is found that that of Victoria is 32·23 births to every thousand of the population, and of New South Wales 37·75. This makes a deficiency to Victoria of about four thousand six hundred births for that year alone. Similarly to the state of the marriage-rate, we find that the birth-rate in Melbourne and suburbs was 33·20 per thousand of the population, and for Sydney and suburbs 38·43; for Victoria, excluding Melbourne and suburbs, 33·46; and for New South Wales, excluding Sydney and suburbs, 37·62. It thus appears that Melbourne is peculiarly deficient, both in her marriage and birth rates, as compared with the country; but then, in birth-rates, the country parts of Victoria are almost equally behind-hand—a fact which was not to be expected—for it might perhaps have been assumed that Victoria contained more marrying farmers, and that New South Wales was occupied rather by celibate shearers and such like squatter-hands. If this be so, the squatter-hands

* See Note on Page 395.

marry more than the farmers ; but, in any case, Victoria lags behind with a long gap.

Immigration to Victoria is at a lower level in proportion to her population than in any of the other colonies, except Tasmania, about four and a half persons coming into the country to every thousand of the resident population.* In 1873 South Australia had about seven, and in 1875 reached twelve per thousand of the population. New South Wales follows, ranging over those years from twelve to seventeen per thousand annually. Then New Zealand, from about thirty in 1873, to a hundred and twelve in 1874, and a hundred and sixty-seven in 1875 ; and Queensland, from sixty-six to eighty-four per annum. Western Australia is improving from a loss of fourteen to the thousand of her population, to an increase of eight in the year ; and Tasmania retrogrades, with a loss of two per thousand of her population in 1873, and of fifteen in 1875.

It thus appears from the statistics of the ports for the last four years that Victoria occupies a position neither advancing nor retrograding in immigration, and is at present below all the colonies except Tasmania, whose people are rapidly leaving her shores. Western Australia even receives, proportionately to her population, double as many importations as Victoria. Her ports, however, do not give a true statement of the migration, for the passage of people over the borders, to and from New South Wales and South Australia, are not included. On this point the *Statistical Register* of New South Wales for 1875 says :—" There is no doubt that New South Wales received a large influx of overland population, of which no record can be obtained." If this be so, which there is no reason to doubt, it is to some extent at least, and probably largely, at the expense of Victoria ; and if so, the number of Victorian emigrants is yet larger than given in the statistics. It is much to be regretted that a census is not held in such changing countries every five years.

On the other hand, no colony receives to her shores so large a number of immigrants as Victoria, yet she fails to retain them ; for they nearly all emigrate hence. Herein she differs from the other colonies, who retain a larger proportional number, as stated above.

It thus appears that immigration and matrimony in Australia

* If it be objected that immigration should not be calculated in proportion to population, it is to be remembered that in this manner only can its effect upon the relation of the resident sexes and upon matrimony be rightly estimated.

flourish side by side, or similarly decline; yet matrimony cannot be dependant on immigration; for in England, without an immigration rate comparable to that of the colonies, if not an annual exodus, the average marriage scale is higher than that of the colonies.

The fault of insufficient marriage cannot be said to lie at the door of "climate;" for while Queensland which is, of the steadily-progressing colonies, perhaps the hottest, has over nine marriages yearly to every thousand of the population, New Zealand, with her varying climate but relatively greater cold than Victoria, has about eight and a half annual marriages per thousand; but Victoria has less than six, and England has nearly eight and a half. The climate is thus not directly responsible.

In reviewing the foregoing comparison of Victoria with the other colonies and European countries, it may now be taken as proved that the Victorian annual matrimonial rate is below the average of that of the progressing colonies by about two and a half marriages to every thousand of the population, which represents a deficiency of over 2000 weddings in 1876, and over 16,000 in the last twelve years; and that such marriage-rate is steadily, year by year, still further declining; that this insufficiency is neither to be accounted for by differences of population in proportion to extent of country, by the numerical relation of the sexes, nor that of bachelors and spinsters of the marriageable age; neither is it attributable to the occupations of the people, nor to climate; though it does appear that the annual marriage-rate of the Australian colonies is closely allied to that of the proportionate excess of immigrants over emigrants, and that Melbourne, as compared with Sydney and generally in regard to the proper proportion for a thriving capital city, is a special matrimonial defaulter.

It is now necessary to consider the internal relative conditions of Victoria, bearing on or influencing the subject under discussion.

In 1836 Sir Thomas Mitchell, when exploring what he believed to be an unknown land, met two gentlemen driving tandem near the Messrs. Henty's station at Portland.* The population of Australia Felix was then 224 persons, composed of 186 males and 38 females, and there was no wedding. In 1839, a time of great drought in New South Wales, the population rose to nearly 6,000; there being over 3,000 immigrants, and ten marriages in the year to every thousand of the population. In 1840, there were over

* "*Australia and the Oceanic Region* : By W. B. Wildey.

10,000 people, 4,000 immigrants and nearly 18 marriages to every 1,000 of the people: and in the next year the population reached 20,000, the immigrants about 6,000, and the weddings nearly 20, and in 1842, $21\frac{1}{2}$ per 1,000—the highest rate ever attained in the colony. But, in consequence of the monetary crisis of 1841, and general subsequent depression, emigration set in; so that in 1843 over 700 more left the colony than came to it; and the marriage-rate so retrograded, that in 1848 it was less than seven per 1,000: by which year, however, affairs had improved, the arrivals, gradually increasing, had reached over 6,000, and in 1849 over 12,000: so that in 1850 the population was 76,000, and the marriage-rate nearly 13 per 1,000. In 1851 Port Phillip was divorced from New South Wales, and Victoria was born with a golden spoon in her mouth. The influx in the ensuing year was 63,000, the population 168,000, and the wedding-rate nearly 12 per 1,000.

Thus matters continued flourishing, with a rolling-up population, an influx of new arrivals, varying from 13,000 to 53,000 a year, and marriages annually from 12 to 9 per 1,000 of the population till 1860; when the population was 537,000, the immigrants suddenly decreased, only numbering 7,000, and the marriage-rate was 8 per 1,000. In this year the breaking out of the Maori war attracted strangers to New Zealand, and in the following year or two recruiting was largely carried on in Victoria; moreover, private alluvial mining was largely giving place to the employment of men at fixed wages by companies, which much injured the glittering attractiveness of the mines. From these combined causes, in 1861 nearly 9,000 left the colony in excess of the arrivals, and in 1862 over 300; the result being that in 1863 the marriage-rate forsook, never again as yet to reach, the usual British and progressing-colonial average of 8 per 1,000, and fell to 7. Assisted immigration was now the rage, and between eight and nine thousand persons were so introduced at the country's expense; yet they largely went away again, for the total excess of comers over goers was 4,100. In 1864 14,000 immigrants arrived, while a dead-lock and severe drought impoverished the land; and in 1866, Protection.

In 1868 the immigrants fell to about 2,000; but neither could assisted immigration nor protection make the new importations or the colonials wed; for, though in 1869 and 1870 the immigrants were in each year over 11,000, still since 1862 the marriage-rate has steadily declined; till in 1872, the year following the large increase of protective duties, the immigrants who remained in the country

were under 2,000, and the marriages nearly 1,000 below the normal average for the year. In this depressed state of things the colony increased its expenditure by paying its members of Parliament an additional £30,000 per annum; and in 1876 Victorian Matrimony has sunk to the abyss of less than 6 marriages to every 1,000 of population; a rate she has not touched for nearly 40 years, when in the third year of her existence; and her immigration is as low as, and probably less than that of the same date. Meanwhile, her population increases; for, since children are still born in excess of the known death-rate, it can scarcely do otherwise; but the proportion of such increase is steadily and rapidly diminishing, for while the total number of deaths annually increases, the total number of births, in spite of increasing population, is about stationary; and the excess of births over deaths is in actual numbers diminishing year by year. Thus, the birth-rate per 1,000 of the population—a rate as disgracefully deficient as that of her weddings—is rapidly declining, and has sunk from 42 per 1,000 of her population in 1865, to 32 in 1876; representing a total deficiency of over 30,000 births on the scale of the colonial average, of whom nearly 12,000 would have lived over the age of twenty-five.

Such is the marriage history of the Queen of the Australias. Is she dying?

With regard to our present condition as shown by the statistics of 1876, our unpopularity is great; for while a larger number of visitors land on the Victorian shores than in any other colony, we retain only one in every nine; no approach to such emigration existing elsewhere. Again, we find that between eight and nine hundred children left in 1876 in excess of those who arrived;* a clear proof of the "tendency of families to quit the colony,"† and an increase of a fourth on similar emigration of the previous year.

Five times as many males arrive and remain as females. Victoria is deeply indebted to Tasmania; were the latter able to retain her population, the former would probably be also undergoing depopulation by emigration: nearly 2000 arrive therefrom in excess of departures hence thither.‡ These and a few imported from the United Kingdom made up the immigrant number to 3826 for 1876; a calculation

* *Victorian Statistical Register* for 1876. † *Hayter's Victorian Year Book* for 1875.

‡ Tasmanian statistics for 1876, just issued, show that 526 more persons immigrated to her shores from Victoria than emigrated in that year.

which does not include those leaving by the borders overland ; 320 Chinese, however, happily elected to remain in the colony.

Nearly 36,000 persons arrived in 1876 ; but 32,000 went away again. *Veneunt, videunt, exeunt.*

It would, however, appear that though the numbers of immigrants and emigrants are thus about equal, the latter are not actually the same persons as the former ; but that a large floating population is constantly going and coming. From the relative proportions of the married, the bachelors, the spinsters, and the children of 1876, as compared with those of previous dates as well as of other countries, and the great excess of the arrivals of men and the unmarried over women and married persons, combined with the departure of such a large number of children, who certainly went with their parents as suggested by the Registrar General, it would, I say, appear probable that the emigration consists largely of families and men, either Victorians or those who have tried Victoria ; and that the immigrants who take their place in numbers are " New Chums " or arrivals from Tasmania, and, to a less extent, from New Zealand. Such exchange, should this opinion be correct, is greatly against the interests of Victoria.

If, now, Melbourne be compared with other Victorian towns, it is found that her marriage-rate is nearly a fifth less than theirs, but nearly four times as large as in the country districts. As the Registrar-General remarks, " To account for the low marriage-rate in the country districts, it will at once be remembered that marriages of persons whose ordinary abode is the country generally take place in the towns." * It is thus evident that while the country towns attract from the country, Melbourne, as the capital city, should attract from them as well as from her own district, as is found to be the case in London, whose marriage-rate was 10·75 against 9·45 for England in the same year ; and Sydney whose rate is 9·90 against 6·45 in the country. Melbourne, however, does not so participate. Such was, however, the case in 1873, but her proportion is now steadily declining. The number of her marriages, too, is actually less by forty-four in 1876 than in 1875, though her population has increased by between two and three thousand. The towns outside Melbourne and its suburbs are not marrying as they did of yore, actually less marriages occurring in 1876 than in 1874 ; but their population has also proportionately declined, being about 8000 less ;

* Hayter's *Victorian Year Book* for 1873.

the proportion of marriages to population in those towns is only a little diminished. The inhabitants of the country districts, however, are rapidly increasing, and it is evident that the people are being attracted thither from the country towns, over twenty thousand more residing there in 1876 than in 1875. Their marriage rate is a little higher than during the previous two years, but is less than in 1873; the actual numbers, too, are greater.

From the above facts it would appear that Melbourne marriages are less than they should be; for there can be no doubt that they should equal the country-towns rate, and that of Sydney. Again, assuming that the mass of the country weddings take place in the country towns, the general average of the extra-metropolitan towns and of the country districts is far below what it should be. The conclusion arrived at must therefore necessarily be that there is a general marriage deficiency extending all over the colony, and there is direct evidence to show that such deficiency is attributable to Melbourne more than elsewhere.

On the gold-fields, where were resident in 1871, nearly a third of the people of the colony, there were proportionately rather more unmarried males than on the general average of the colony, but less unmarried females. The proportion of children was, however, greater. Their population is steadily decreasing, being now not more than half what it was in 1867: and should the rate of decrease of the last ten years be continued, there will not be a miner left in Victoria in eleven years. The quantity of gold exported is similarly less than half.

The squatting runs are also annually largely decreasing in area, and the exports of Victorian wool are yearly less.

Land in cultivation, however, annually increases, but not so the quantity of cereals produced.

From the above statements of dry facts, the general conclusion is derived that the country and matrimony thrive before gold was discovered; that even under the influence of enormous gold discoveries the marriage-rate was never so rampant as previously; and therefore that gold is not in itself necessary in Victoria to a normal and average wedding-rate. To assert that because our mining population and gold export rate is annually declining, therefore it is a natural sequence that our marriage-rate should decrease, is to argue that the whole or main resources of the colony are dependent on gold-mining, which is contrary to fact.

Equally absurd would it be to assume that the answer to the

question which is the subject of our thesis, is to be found in the fact that immigration has fallen very low ; and that without an annual and large settlement of strangers we cannot marry. The answer is, I think, not to be found in the absence of assisted immigration, but rather in the great fact that, though persons who are found valuable in other colonies come, they go again ; and the same cause which induces them to leave the colony hinders other men from marrying. Did some such cause not exist, the Victorian men would suffice for Victorian women, and matrimony would flourish. As it is, only immigrants with money are wanted, and even then, apart from matrimony, their money would be preferred unalloyed by their presence. This is not as it should be in a new country.

The non-marrying crime, too, has been shown, though largely not only dependent upon Melbourne, but that the whole colony has to answer to the charge.

As regards occupation, no peculiar class affords evidence of an extra-leaning to celibacy. The resident squatters do not show this inclination by the statistics, it being their special interest to be married. Moreover, they are decreasing in numbers as well as the squattages, and consequently their exports. To say, therefore, that, while they were more numerous marriage thrived, and as they diminished so did the marriages, is to argue that the rest of the people, who are infinitely more numerous, are deficient in their natural duty to the fair sex. And again, to say that when land ceased to be chiefly employed as runs matrimony decreased, is to assert that those agriculturists who now occupy it do not marry ; which is itself absurd, it being a well known fact that farmers are especially prone to marriage ; since, apart from all other considerations, they can thereby work their land to greater advantage.

Presuming that manufactures, and the employment therein of skilled labour and artizans are rapidly and annually increasing, and putting forward the undeniable fact that the marriage-rate is rapidly and annually decreasing, is to show that these lines run parallel ; of which Euclid's definition is that, being produced never so far, they do not meet. So, if this argument be carried out, it is evident that the conclusion to be arrived at is, that to increase our manufactures is to depopulate their locality ; which is absurd.

Not to be needlessly prolix, the problem may be thus stated : It is certain that the marriage-rate is demoralized. If it be asserted that the country is thriving from an increase of selectors,

manufactories, and protected industries, it follows that such success is destructive to marriage; which is contrary to the experience of the rest of the world. It may, therefore, be asserted that these conditions have not brought success.

On the other hand, it has been shown that Victorian immigration and the occupations of mining and squatting are rapidly decreasing, and that, concurrently with them, matrimony has declined.

As when the "mean* man," desiring to discover much, experimented in the washing of hands with everything from *aqua regia* to tar, and eventually concluded that soap and warm water were the most efficacious; so now it may be permitted one, after having enquired into all possible antipodean peculiarities and conditions, to suggest that the laws of political economy and of Nature, which maintain in other colonies and countries, may perhaps apply to Victoria. The Registrar-General of England has said: "An increase in the marriages almost invariably accompanies a prosperous state of the country;" and he might have added, had he wished to multiply words, "A decrease in the marriages almost invariably accompanies an unprosperous state of the country." We are now driven to conclude, either that the country is unprosperous, or that immorality is so fearfully in the ascendant, as that Victoria in such iniquity overtops every country that publishes statistics. This is beyond belief; and, as a solution to the legal mind, evidence bears in the other direction: and it must therefore be concluded that absence of internal prosperity is the answer to our question. As examples of this assertion of the Registrar-General, we may quote that in Glasgow, in 1825, "a very prosperous year," 11·96 per 1,000 of the population married; but that in 1837, a year of "great destitution and suffering," only 8·27 married; the average for 18 years being 9·75. Again, Victoria, whose people have never lived from hand to mouth, as do the poor of large home cities, thrived mightily in 1839-40 and '41, and her marriage-rate rose from 4 to 21½ in 1842; she then had a violent crisis, the shock from which she did not recover till 1847, and her marriage-rate sank to under 7 per 1,000. Then came prosperity, natural immigration from the natural attraction of success, and she multiplied, married, and children were born to her; but, as gold declined, so did immigration, matrimony, fecundity, prosperity.

* Confucius.

It might, however, have been thought, that the products furnished in the form of wool, cereals, roots, manufactures, and paid politicians, would have hindered the rapid tumble down the hill. This, however, is not so.

When the physician has discovered the disease, its nature, location, sinuosities and cause, gauged its present strength and future bearings, it is expected of him to point out the mode of cure. What is the remedy for the quite-too-deficient marriage rate of Victoria?

Is it to be found in a reduced extravagance, and a less expectation of an extensive *ménage* with the husbands? This is not alone to be relied on, however desirable, for in Victoria the lie is given to Burns' quaint lines—

“Be a lassie ne'er sae black,
If she hae the penny siller,
Set her upon Tintock Tap,
The wind will blaw a man till her.”

Where suitable men are not, they cannot be “blawn.” A man-famine exists in certain classes, and pennies cease to draw. But it is not to the advantage of the colony that heiresses or indeed heirs should chiefly wed. Heirs and heiresses are apt to be the solitary children of their parents; and as the Irish statist quaintly put it, “Sterility is often hereditary.” His maxim may not be true in words; but what he meant being true, a colony thus tends to progressive decrease in its birth rate.

But the mass of the people rely upon their daily wage, to which alone they look for their bread; and the girls, under our present hypothesis, are willing to accept such lot if offered them: offers, however, are not.

Can it be that the girls are shrews, and by their tempers repel their would-be admirers? No one, noting the beauty, sweetness, and attraction of the Victorian girls, dare support this argument; and if their liveliness should occasionally lead to the hasty word of a warm climate, we should think with Paley,* who, on hearing an old clergyman on the fortieth anniversary of his wedding-day declare that he had never had a difference with his wife, said to the bishop, “It must have been rather flat;” and again—

“Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio.”

No such experience of prolonged matrimony, however, will a rightful proportion of Victorians claim.

* Lord Neaves.

Or shall polygamy be instituted, and each careworn benedict grind his bones for his harem and ample progeny; but finding no rest, after the manner of that "very much-married man," Brigham Young, who though he had the world to hide in, could not escape some ungrateful spouse? No; the lovely Bosphorus, with its deep waters and rapid tide, is not under our feet, under our bath-rooms; facilities for checking the exuberant speech of a jealous harem do not exist; moreover, a coroner is at hand. Avaunt Polygamy!

Shall the French or Chinese system be adopted? Shall parents or professional match-makers arrange that young people shall be duly betrothed or wedded at birth, or when of age? Shall a suitable dowry be guaranteed by the parents of the bride towards the establishment of the new home? So shall the parents of the bride pay her groom so much to marry her, she being in such case regarded as a somewhat expensive chattel, a white elephant, that it is necessary to pay some one to take away. It may be that the customs of such barbarous countries as these are better than the laws of such as call themselves more civilized, if the former render happier the lives of, or remove from neglect, a much larger proportion of the most influential and beautiful part of the population.

Shall the ladies take the place of the men in Parliament receiving £300 per annum for the use of their tongues?

"Wise men alone who long for quiet lives;

"Wise men alone are governed by their wives."

This would, however, infer that Victoria is chiefly peopled by wise men. The ladies, however might yet save Victoria,

"For who votes not that woman's subtilties

Can guyleen Argus?"*

They might yet annihilate extinction. Trial thereof might with more reason be made than of the extermination of matrimony.

But protection is the rage. Are the girls not to be protected? Shall boots and flimsy hats only have their share? Surely it has been sufficiently shown that the women need protection. Let the Government pass a bill to that effect in the form of a tax on the introduction of foreign women (are not all persons outside Victoria "foreigners"?), and a progressive "bursting up" *ad valorem* duty

* *Spencer F. Q.* iii. lx, 7.

on every celibate, advancing on the good old days of yore, when every bachelor paid an annual pound for his freedom. Such progressive annual tax might be adapted on the Chinese scale of capacity.

1.	2s. 6d.,	if not engaged at the age of 10 years—	“The opening degree.”
2.	£1	„ „ „	20 „ “Youth expired.”
3.	£5	„ married „	30 „ “Strength and marriage.”
4.	£10	„ „ „	40 „ “Officially apt.”
5.	£20	„ „ „	50 „ “Error knowing.”
6.	£10	„ „ „	60 „ “Cycle closing.”
7.	£5	„ „ „	70 „ “Rare bird of age.”
8.	£1	„ „ „	80 „ “Rusty visaged.”
9.	2s. 6d.	„ „ „	90 „ “Delayed.”
10.	0	„ „ „	100 „ “Age’s extremity.”

Or shall we decrease the number of female infants? Shall we adopt the Chinese fashion, and convert sightless and useless public buildings into towers, into a side door of which might be thrown such female children as won’t die otherwise, and prove inconvenient; a law being passed that not less than two thousand a year at present, and progressively with the population, should be so disposed of? But Kwei Chung Fu, that ancient sage who considered himself specially inspired to check the infanticide of his country, wrote—“To destroy daughters is to make war upon Heaven’s harmony; the more daughters you drown, the more daughters you will have; and never was it known that the drowning of daughters led to the birth of sons.” Yet this highly educated, inspired, but bad old man recommended that they should be “abandoned on the wayside.” But neither drowning, starvation, nor “exposure on the wayside” appear to be invariably satisfactory; for was not the she-wolf more human than Amulius, who paid the penalty for such injury to Romulus? But since whatever is determined on for Victoria must give at least promise of a resulting perfection, it will rather be wiser to sympathise with the newly instituted Hospital for the protection of inconvenient children, than arrange for their destruction.

It would, however, appear that advice may reasonably be given to the fathers of daughters, that they should consider seriously the facts put before them; mark well that the existing course of the country has been steadily persevered in for eleven years, during which time prosperity, matrimony, and fecundity have synchronously and steadily decreased; remember that such condition leads to the frustration and abeyance of the noblest qualities and tendencies of

their daughters ; that the true, natural, and rightfully expected pleasures of their lives are destroyed, and that they are later on in life but too often constrained to drag out their uncared for and single existence in struggling penury and silent want. It may be difficult to say what amount of time is required for the fair trial of an experiment ; but eleven years form no morsel of a life time ; sixteen thousand unmarried girls is no mere handful ; sixty thousand children unborn would not have been valueless in a new country ; with the certainty that these numbers increase in due proportion every year. Will the experiment continue till the colony is extinct ? Might it not be wiser now to try the experiment of an extended prosperity for all classes, and have the world for a market for our daughters not less than for the productions of our sons : or are the brains, the muscles, the soil, the climate of Victoria so inferior that they cannot compete with those of the other colonies ? Surely the cry should be, " Victoria for the Victorians ! " This, however, is not so ; for the fact is, " Victoria for the stranger ! " The Victorians are dying ; their daughters are nuns in fact ; their sons, if they be in her, are monks ; Protectionists and Freetraders are rapidly tending towards extinction : but for the arriving stranger she would presently be depopulated.

Facilis descensus Averni. The steps are simple : 1. A deficient and decreasing marriage rate ; therefore, 2. A deficient and decreasing birth rate. 3. An average mortality : these we have now. Presently will follow, should the above conditions persist, 4. A mortality greater than the birth-rate : consequently, 5. A decreasing population ; and 6. The extinction of the Victorians is then a question only of time. At the present rate of decrease, marriage will cease absolutely in 1927, *i.e.*, fifty years hence. The possibility of Victorian girls having ever married men " simply to oblige them " will then become the uncredited legend of an unknown age ; and the Chinese, " the coming race," will regard original settlers as pilot fish who did their duty.

Will Victoria elect that the words of our motto shall be realised ? and shall the last Victorian girl crouch under the shade of the Burke and Wills Monument, last semblance of Victorian Protection gaze wistfully at the deserted Block, and sigh forth " Housekeeping's dead ? "

W. BALLS-HEADLEY.

EASTWARD HOME.

THE highway between Australia and Europe is now so thronged with passengers, journeying Eastward and Westward, that it seems almost impertinent to attempt to invest with any special interest the account of a pleasure trip which is taken by hundreds every month. And yet it is a fact that those who are contemplating a similar trip, peruse such narratives with the interest of enquirers ; those who have already made it, like to revive pleasant reminiscences, and the large majority, to whom it is as a pleasant dream with somewhat remote possibilities of realisation, are fain to accept, the record in the interim in lieu of the actual experience. If the following notes afford any useful information to the first class ; if they recall some of the most pleasant experiences of the second, or if they cheer the " hope deferred " and awaken a fresh interest in the last, they will have fully served their purpose and excused their publication.

It was written of old, " They that go down to the sea in ships see the wonders of the Lord ; " but without irreverence it may now be said that they see more of the wonders of man in his grand triumph over the works of nature, though alas they see also too much of the littlenesses of man in the various phases of his social development gregariously considered. The frail Argosies that braved the perils of the seas two thousand years ago, creeping warily along the coast^s almost at the mercy of the winds and waves, whose navigators would deprecate the wrath of the ruler of storms by prayer and sacrifice ; nay, even the cumbrously stately galleons that carried Columbus through unknown seas to undying fame, or the struggling little *Mayflower*, with its band of devoted passengers, were all infinitely more calculated to inspire a sentiment of reliance on a higher power ; that sense of dependence which is the basis of all religions, than a modern steamboat even under the most exceptional circumstances. But when the circumstances are not exceptional, when winds are gentle and seas tranquil, when the daily routine of life goes on as it might at a good hotel in a pleasant seaside holiday, when you get your morning bath in comfort, have a dozen dishes to choose from at breakfast, and nearly as many at lunch ; select your own wines for dinner, and receive from attentive waiters the numerous courses of that substantial meal, when you retire from a

spacious dining saloon to take your cigar in the smoking room before joining the ladies in the "Social hall," and then pass a pleasant evening with music, cards, books, or chat. If you are at all given to contemplation, it is the wonders of man's handiwork that overcome you, and by its proximity obscures the view of the majestic surroundings, and the awful sublimity of "Old Ocean's gray and melancholy waste."

The Pacific Mail Company's steamer *City of New York* left her anchorage in Sydney harbour precisely at 3 o'clock on Friday afternoon, the 9th March, 1877, having in the saloon about sixty passengers for San Francisco and fifteen for Auckland. She was accompanied to the Heads, and even a mile or two beyond, by three small steamers filled with the friends and business connections of one of the passengers, a Sydney merchant who had manifestly acquired a widely favourable reputation, and the hearty cheers with which they dispatched us on our way were accepted by all on board as an omen of a prosperous voyage. The North Cape of New Zealand was sighted on Tuesday afternoon, and on the following day, at 1 p.m., the steamer was at the wharf in Auckland harbour. The approaches to the harbour are picturesque in the extreme, and from the time that the rugged outline of Rangitoto is first sighted until reaching the wharf the shores present an ever changing panorama, culminating in the quaint old town straggling back from the water towards the sheltering slopes of Mount Eden. Our landing was to some extent a disenchantment, for the town, which has nowhere any special pretensions to architectural beauty, is, in the neighbourhood of the wharves especially, seedy and dilapidated; the shops in the main business street are many of them mere sheds, and all of them extremely poor in style and display; the streets are ill-formed, and in many cases with such severe grades as to tax the horses to the utmost, while the general air of depression which pervades the mercantile quarter is only relieved by the massive grandeur of the Bank of New Zealand, an imposing edifice that could not have attained to so luxuriant a growth in sterile soil. Some of the other banks, whose offices in Melbourne are a pride of our citizens, are content to sit in very gloomy back seats in this once important, but now neglected ex-capital of old New Zealand. The Supreme Court, which occupies a very prominent position on a hill overlooking the harbor, is a red brick building with a square battlemented tower and ecclesiastical-looking windows, more like a public college than a court of justice. It had been originally faced

with a light sandstone, which having crumbled away in many places, was replaced by cement, giving it a very patchwork look. The gargoyles are sculptured in likenesses of the Queen, Prince Consort, and several distinguished New Zealanders, both Maori and Pakeha. The grotesqueness of a savage tattooed face balancing the mild visage of the Queen, or supported by the effigy of a Supreme Court judge in his wig, was very ludicrous.

But if there is little of interest or attractiveness in the town, the glimpses of beautiful homes, luxuriant gardens, and charmingly diversified scenery which we obtained in a few hours' drive around the suburbs, revealed an ample compensation to the fortunate residents. Though there are none of those stately mansions such as are found on the South Head road out of Sydney, some of the suburban residences, particularly those on and about the slopes of Mount Eden, are exquisite in beauty of situation, and command a prospect at least equal in loveliness to the shores of Port Jackson, while immeasurably superior in regard to its extent and the great fertility of the surroundings. The view over Onehunga, on the road from Auckland, is simply perfect—an exquisite balance of fertile land, green as an emerald, and picturesque stretches of water, with bold mountain slopes beyond.

As daylight began to wane, the liberated passengers flowed steadily back to the City of New York, the hour of departure having been fixed for half-past six, but owing to the large additions to the passengers' list, and the necessity for increased stores, it was past ten o'clock before our moorings were cast off, and at daylight next morning we were out of sight of land.

The New Zealand contingent brought up the number of passengers in the Saloon to about a hundred; and it may safely be said that with a few exceptions they were not very desirable fellow-travellers, much rougher and rowdier than the Australian passengers, and so much given to lazy self-indulgence that the purser was compelled to post a notice in the "Social Hall" to the effect that that apartment was intended for the comfort of all the passengers, especially the ladies, and should not be converted into the appearance of a hospital barracks.

The mountain peaks of Kandava were sighted by moonlight soon after midnight of the fourth day, and on Monday morning, at six o'clock, we passed inside the barrier reef and awaited the agent's boat. As we lay fully three miles from the shore, and contemplated a delay of only a couple of hours, landing was out of the question;

but we flattered ourselves that if we could not enjoy a ramble in the shady forest and a bath in the cool mountain torrent, we should at least have some realisation of the simple luxuries of an unsophisticated people in a few canoe loads of pineapples, bananas, mangoes, oranges, and such tropical extravagancies, to be bartered by their guileless owners for next to nothing. But we were doomed to disappointment; not a single canoe appeared on the scene, and the stout whale-boat in which the agent came off to take the Fijian passengers and cargo, brought nothing but himself and a couple of stalwart copper-coloured gentlemen in clean waist cloths, the flash of whose brilliant teeth made you wink when they smiled. Whatever may be the ordinary characteristics of the people, it is certain that these two men worked like tigers in loading their boat, and showed an amount of muscular strength and cat-like activity rarely equalled by white men in a similar labour, while the perpetual sunshine of laughing cheerfulness which their faces wore was all their own. The view of Levuka from the sea is not specially striking, the mountains being somewhat bare, and the absence of any dense tropical vegetation gives it a general air of likeness to the Australian or New Zealand coast. By 9 o'clock we were again clear of the reef, and standing on our course, the sea, which had been very high ever since leaving Auckland, continuing to increase all day; and as the glass was low and the wind light Captain Caverly was of opinion that we were following in the track of a hurricane which we had been just fortunate enough to escape. During the afternoon we passed close to the island of Matuka, the most southerly of the Fijian group, and during the night rounded the south-eastern corner of the Archipelago, and got into such a high sea that it was almost impossible to do anything besides "holding on." Having crossed the 180th meridian during the night, we were presented with a second Monday, the 19th March, and endeavoured to realise how a week with eight days in it could exist without hopelessly deranging our notions of right and wrong in the field of Sabbatarianism. On the following morning at daybreak we passed Boscawen Island, visible at a great distance on account of its height, and at noon came in sight of Savii, the largest of the Samoan or Navigators Islands. The general outline of Savii is remarkably picturesque, and the effect of a tropical storm passing over it and shrouding the mountain tops in sombre clouds until the gathering wind chased them away in swirling eddies, added greatly to the beauty of the scene. It was 7 o'clock and quite dark before

we were close to the coast along which our course lay for some distance. It was a great disappointment to pass these islands at night, as the Samoans are a specially interesting people, and the population is so considerable that the lights in the coast villages and torches in the canoes were continuously visible from the steamer's deck till nearly midnight. Nine days of steady steaming, averaging 274 miles a day, in a heavy sea and in the teeth of unusually strong N.E. trades, brought us to the vicinity of the Hawaiian Islands, and on Thursday, 29th March, the coast of Oahu was sighted at daybreak, and by 7 a.m. we were moored alongside the wharf in the harbour of Honolulu. The view of the town and its scattered suburbs, after passing the remarkable promontory called Diamond Head, is exceedingly picturesque. The dense cocoanut groves of Waikiki in the foreground, the white houses, the churches, and the public buildings, dotted here and there amongst the palms, mangoes, bananas, oranges, and other luxuriant trees, conveys a sense of coolness and comfort it is delicious to contemplate, while the placid waters of the harbour, varying in tint from ultra marine to emerald green, the delicate tracery of the shipping and the background of lofty serrated mountains, combine to make up a picture never to be forgotten. The portion of the town adjoining the wharves is very colonial in aspect, and might pass for a fragment of Sandridge or Williamstown; but as you go further in the foliage improves, and most of the houses in the upper part of the town are embowered in trees with charming gardens around. A large number of the passengers went up to the Hawaiian Hotel to breakfast, and we were all delighted with the excellence of the repast, the profusion of delicious fruits, and the elegance of the appointments. There is certainly no hotel in Melbourne or Sydney that can compare with this establishment, which was built in 1871 at the cost of the government, and is leased to an enterprising American caterer, Mr. Allan Herbert. It is three stories high, built of stone on a frontage of 120 feet, with spacious verandahs and balconies about 12 feet wide all round, and rich umbrageous gardens back and front. The rooms are all large and very lofty, the dining hall being 75 x 32, the corridors and staircases are most spacious and stately, while the furnishing for elegance and suitability leaves nothing to be desired. From a cupola on the roof an excellent general view of the town and harbour is obtained. In the basement there is a very large and delightfully cool billiard saloon, with three excellent tables; hot and cold water are laid on all over the house, and every room is well

lighted by gas, manufactured on the premises, while ample provision is made for illuminating the grounds, in which promenade concerts and other outdoor festivities are frequently held. When it is considered that the entire white population of Honolulu is under 3000, such a complete establishment would appear to be beyond the requirements of the place, but so attractive is it to travellers that many of them are too fascinated to push their excursion beyond its walls, and only tear themselves away when the steamer's whistle proclaims her departure. After breakfast I engaged a buggy and pair, and with my wife drove out through the Nuuanu valley to the celebrated Pali, about seven miles from town. For the first two miles the road is lined on both sides with the private residences of the citizens and the cottages of the natives, nearly all with beautiful gardens, one of the most noticeable being the dwelling of Ah Fong, the principal Chinese merchant. After passing the cemetery and the Royal Mausoleum, a gothic structure, which holds the mortal remains of the Hawaiian kings, the road assumes a more rural aspect, and patches of taro, bananas, and mangoes take the place of the houses. The valley, reduced to about half a mile wide, is walled in by picturesque abrupt and sometimes grotesque mountains, on the tops of which rain clouds were continually settling. The ascent by the road, though nowhere very steep, is continuous for about five miles, and reaches a height of 1200 feet above the town. Between the fifth and sixth mile the valley continues to narrow, until at the Pali it is not more than two or three hundred yards wide, the side terminal peaks being particularly abrupt and sharp. Suddenly at a turn round a rocky ledge you come upon a view that almost takes away your breath. A sheer descent of over a thousand feet into a lovely valley on the north-east coast, stretching away in beautiful undulation to the sea, which is about five miles off. It was over this precipice that Kamehameha I. drove the army of the then King of Oahu when he conquered the kingdom, and the curious may still find at the awful base remains of the bleached bones of the thousands of dusky warriors said to have so ingloriously perished. Now, however, a steep but well cut zig-zag pass has been made in the face of the rock, which may be taken with perfect safety by pedestrians, while the natives frequently ride up and down on their sure-footed ponies.

The beautiful plains at the foot, between the Pali and the sea, are devoted to grazing and the cultivation of the sugar-cane, guava and rice; a lovely stream winds down from the mountains to the sea,

and the rich shades of verdure, backed up by the varying colours of the ocean, the glistening white surf lazily breaking on the coral reef, and the bright yellow shore-line of sand, make up a picture that if transferred faithfully to canvas would be held to be the ecstatic dream of a poetical imagination interpreted by J. W. M. Turner, in his best mood. Although it was very hot in Honolulu and along the road, the wind was so high in this gap that we could scarcely stand against it without holding on, and yet as far as the eye could reach the ocean was without a ripple on its satin-like surface.

We drove back to the town in time to meet the King, the Governors of the islands, and the various members of His Majesty's cabinet returning from the State funeral of His Highness Charles Kanaina, the father of the late king. They were on horseback in gorgeous uniforms, and were followed by a very good military band and about two hundred soldiers, well drawn and equipped, who marched exceedingly well. As in more civilised communities the band was preceded and followed by some hundreds of idlers, of all ages, and sexes, and the streets generally were crowded with natives dressed in all the colours of the rainbow. Honolulu contains about 12,000 natives, and is essentially an Americanised town; indeed although the King is nominally the supreme head of the Government, there is little doubt that all the machinery is controlled by Americans, who hold most of the important positions in the cabinet and courts of judicature; thus enabling Uncle Sam to reap all the benefits of a Pacific colony without incurring any financial responsibility in maintaining a somewhat expensive form of administration. The Government buildings embrace in one very handsome and imposing edifice the hall of the legislative assembly, the supreme court, bureau of public instruction, police court, hall of records, public library, museum, and the chambers of the various ministers of the crown judges, and other officials. The natives in and around the town do not retain much of the unsophisticated aboriginal; they are addicted to driving hard bargains, and are compelled by law to wear more clothes than they like or the climate requires. Their chief characteristics appeared to be cheerfulness, laziness, and a love of personal adornment. Most of the women and many of the men wearing wreaths of brilliant flowers about their heads or necks, put together with quite artistic taste. They were congregated in scores under every verandah or shady nook, gossiping merrily and laughing loudly, but never apparently at work. Obesity appears almost to be a disease with them, and some of the old women we met were of

enormous size; amongst themselves it passes for beauty, which is satisfactory, because they are quite destitute of what passes under that name with us. The day soon slipped away in exploring, under a burning sun, the scenic and social novelties to which we were introduced, and soon after six o'clock we steamed out of the harbour during one of those lovely sunsets for which the region is famous. About a dozen boys followed the ship half-a-mile from the wharf, and exhibited some wonderful feats of diving for stray coins, the more successful of them acquiring quite a bloated appearance from having to stow their cash in their cheeks. The following day was Good Friday, but the ship's baker having neglected to supply the necessary reminder in the shape of hot cross buns, it passed unheeded, an effort being afterwards made to effect compensation by giving a severely high-church, not to say ritualistic tone to the morning service on Easter Sunday.

At four o'clock on Friday morning, the 6th April, the "City of New York" passed through the Golden Gate, and an hour later the stoppage of the engines brought many sleepy and half-dressed passengers on deck to peer through the dim grey light at the vague outline of the city, and watch the rising sun tipping the hills with light and rolling away the cloudy mists that settled in the hollows. Before eight o'clock the mails had been despatched on their way eastward, and we were moored alongside the company's wharf; the custom house formalities were light in the extreme, and a very brief space sufficed to introduce us to the unsurpassed luxury of a good American hotel; the "Occidental," which, while not boasting of the gigantic proportions of the "Palace," or the indescribable gorgeousness of furnishing of the "Baldwyn," lacked nothing that the most fastidious could require either in space, appointments, or cuisine.

San Francisco may be called the Liverpool of the Pacific, and it is growing with such rapidity as to distance all possible competitors. The population of the city and immediate suburbs is alleged to be 300,000, of whom 30,000 to 35,000 are Chinese; and notwithstanding the most doleful lamentations about dulness of trade and financial depression, building is going on in all directions. At the date of my visit the State was suffering from a prolonged and severe drought, such as had not been known for a dozen years, which threatened the wheat crops with total failure, and also from a serious and unexpected falling off in the produce of the mines; both of which depressing influences were aggravated to the city by the recent failure of the boldest speculator and reputedly

wealthiest grain operator on the Pacific coast, whose enormous transactions were the admiration of the country, while kept moving, though, when the bottom fell out, they involved in tribulation alike the wily banker and the too trusting agriculturist.

For that expansion to which the energy and enterprise of its people entitles it, San Francisco has one drawback—it is on the wrong side of the Bay; that is to say, its citizens have either to cross five or six miles of water, or travel seventy-five miles to the base of the peninsula, of which their city occupies the north-east corner, before they can avail themselves of those great railway facilities, of which they are justly proud. Although at present the city faces only upon the Bay, and has trenched so far upon its waters by process of “reclamation,” that substantial stone buildings now stand where twenty years ago a man-of-war might have anchored, yet the distance across to the Pacific Ocean being scarcely six miles, it is more than probable that before the close of the century it will present to that blue expansion the aspect of a bustling city on the spot where the lonely “cliff house” now beguiles the enquiring traveller with promises of instruction and amusement to be derived from watching the seals through a field-glass. The general view of the City and its surroundings from Telegraph Hill or Clay-street Hill is decidedly picturesque. The numerous abrupt hills and high sandy knolls which at one time occupied the site of the City have been gradually cleared away, and their substance used for straightening, extending, and otherwise improving the water front, which now presents a regularity of outline alike valuable and uncommon. The harbour, though lacking the prettiness of the numerous little bays and indentations which make that of Sydney so attractive, is on a grander scale—majestic in outline, relieved by numerous islands, and with a background of high mountains on the Contra Costa shore that gives it a more rugged beauty. Though artificially flattened near the Bay, there remains of course a ridge of high land in the upper part of the town, around and upon which, in the western quarter, the best residences are to be found. In the upper part of Sacramento-street there are several very magnificent edifices, which I took for public institutions, until informed that they were the private dwellings of some of the millionaire railway kings of the west, mansions of which we have no counterpart in Australia, and which, but for a too pronounced grandness of decoration, were akin to the grand ancestral halls of some of the British nobility. They were, however, altogether

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out of place in a street, and required a noble park for their appropriate setting. One of the most gorgeous and elaborate in gilded decoration, though by no means the largest, was that of ex-Governor Stanford, whose brother is well known as a citizen of Melbourne for his taste in the fine arts. The business portion of the city is well built, and the offices of the public companies, especially banking and insurance, make an imposing display. The quarter most frequented by the bankers, brokers, and merchants, is densely thronged, and during business hours the excitement of the feverish speculative crowd, spreading from the offices to the streets, was even greater than that which rendered notorious the Ballarat Corner or the Sandhurst Beehive in their palmiest days. The three days which I was enabled to allot to San Francisco were quite insufficient to explore it thoroughly, though afoot from morning till night. The places of amusement are numerous, though the better class theatres are not nearly so well patronised as the more meretricious music halls or "melodeons," whose name is legion. Woodward's gardens is one of the best exhibitions, and is graduated to suit all tastes, comprising a most excellent zoological collection, botanical gardens, a very good aquarium, picture galleries, natural history museum, open air concerts, gymnastic performances, skating rinks, dancing saloons, and an excellent little theatre for vaudeville entertainments. During the day time the attendance, though very cosmopolitan, is extremely respectable and orderly, but late at night, and especially on Sunday it is apt to get flavoured with rowdyism.

Although there are about sixty Churches and Chapels in San Francisco, their influence upon the habits of the citizens appears to be practically nil, for Sunday is the busiest day of the week. A large proportion of the shops are open all day, the billiard saloons even in the best hotels are continuously thronged, the Theatre and Music halls are invariably crowded, horse racing is specially affected, and all kinds of *al fresco* sports convert the places of public resort into a semblance of Greenwich fair in the olden time. It only remains to speak of the hotels, of which there are an immense number, the principal being the "Palace," "Grand," "Occidental," "Lick House," "Russ House," and the "Baldwyn." The first is not only the largest in California, but is probably unequalled in the world. It was planned and built by the late W. C. Ralston, the former manager of the Bank of California, who had a great deal to do with bringing that institution to grief two years ago. As it now stands in working order it represents an outlay of little short of a

million sterling, the building alone, without the land or furnishing, having cost £700,000. As money in California is worth at least 9 per cent., £90,000 a year would require to be deducted from the returns for rent before showing any profit, figures that would justifiably stagger any enterprising lessee. Of course it is needless to say that it is a disastrous financial failure, for which the shareholders of the Bank of California have paid; but so vast is the army of servants of all kinds required for its proper maintenance, that with seven hundred lodgers in it when I was there, it was not paying working expenses. There is ample accommodation for over 2000 guests, the suites of apartments range from the extreme of elegance to the neatness of plain comfort. The public rooms are all magnificent in proportion, and costly in their furnishings and appointments, while the general effect of the internal court-yard, roofed in with glass, and surrounded by eight tiers of balconies, each decorated with brilliant flowers and trailing creepers, and ablaze with the numerous lamps at night, is suggestive of one of Hennings' transformation scenes on a gigantic scale. It would fill a volume to describe this house in detail, though I explored it from the engineer's department in the basement, where the fires never go out, to the watchman's on the roof. But two simple facts are very suggestive of its magnitude—there are over a thousand table napkins washed in the laundry *every day*, and the duplicate keys of all the rooms stored in a cellar by themselves, weigh seven tons! The chief drawback to the "Palace" is the great difficulty of finding any one when visitors call. If he is not in his own room, there are absolutely miles of corridors, furnished with couches, and in the hot weather largely used as lounges, where you might waste an evening in seeking your friend, besides the numerous public rooms, to render the chase more confusing. The other leading hotels have each their special characteristics; the "Grand" has the most elegant exterior, the "Occidental" probably the best table, the "Lick House" the finest dining hall, and the "Baldwyn" the most luxurious furnishing. Each of these houses has twice or three times the accommodation of Scott's or Menzies', and there is nothing in Australia that can compare with their style and comfort, or the extreme moderation of the charges.

We reluctantly left San Francisco at 8 o'clock on Monday morning, booked through to New York by a somewhat roundabout course, with liberty to "stop off" where we liked. A pleasant run across the bay to Oakland in one of those gigantic steam ferries peculiar to the States, an easy transfer to a comfortable Pullman

car, and the great trans-continental railway journey is fairly commenced. As far as Sacramento, which is reached at 2 p.m., the country is one continuous garden ; fine rolling hills cultivated to the very top, pleasant little towns and villages, cheerful villa residences with trim lawns and parterres of gaily colored flowers ; snug farm houses with rich orchards and vineyards are seen on all sides, surrounded by rich pasture land alive with sleek cattle, by waving fields of grain, and diversified with an abundance of picturesque water. The town of Sacramento is a busy-looking place, but with the exception of the state capital and a few public institutions is poorly built, and reminded me forcibly of Ballarat East, the similarity being heightened by its liability to floods, of which it bore recent traces. The river is a broad, muddy, turbulent stream, and although navigable thus far by steamers, is utterly destitute of beauty or interest. From this point the ascent of the Sierra Nevada Mountains commences, and in about a hundred miles an altitude of 7000 feet above Sacramento is attained. This point, called the Summit, is reached at 10 o'clock at night, so that notwithstanding the efforts of an additional locomotive the speed is scarcely fourteen miles an hour. The scenery on the ascent, and amongst the Sierras is the finest in point of grandeur and sublimity on the whole journey, and it is unfortunate for travellers that the greater part of it is passed in darkness. The view from Cape Horn, passed about 6 o'clock in the morning, where the line runs round a ledge cut out of the rock, with a sheer descent of 2000 feet into the valley of the American river, apparently directly under you as you look out of the car window, is appallingly grand, while some of the bridges that cross fearful ravines appear so flimsy in their gaunt trestle work that you involuntarily hold your breath as you pass over them. In Sacramento it was so hot that we could not walk in the sun without umbrellas, while the thermometer marked about 85 degrees Fahr. in the shade. Seven hours later we were travelling a country covered with snow, and at every station passed in the night it lay deep on the platforms, and piled in drifted glistening heaps against every obstacle. It was a novel sensation to lie in bed, and from a snugly curtained stronghold, amidst warm blankets and downy pillows, to look out lazily upon the weird wintry panorama in its dazzling dress, the sombre pines bending under their white burdens, the jagged mountain peaks like frosted silver in the moonlight, the prosaic snow sheds as ugly as they are doubtless useful, and the utter desolation of the wayside stations,

all tended to awaken a curiosity quite at variance with a good, honest night's sleep. About midnight we crossed the boundary of California, and entered the State of Nevada, through which for some 500 miles the line traverses a most dismal country, partly through the "Great Desert," a series of barren plains, destitute alike of wood and water, sparsely covered with sage brush and white with alkali, and partly through the valley of the Humboldt, a sterile region of low rolling hills, bare, rocky, and forbidding. The only relief to the monotony of the second day's journey was in seeing the numerous parties of Pinte and Shoshone Indians who availed themselves of the company's permission to ride free on the end platforms of the carriages between the various stopping places, and in criticising the grotesque painting and bedraggled feather finery with which they decorated their unsavory and ill-clad persons. Oh! shade of the venerated Chingachgook, it is well that the valiant Uncas went when he did, and that the last of the Mohicans did not live to witness this awful degeneracy.

Daybreak on the morning of the third day found us speeding along in full view of the great Salt Lake in the territory of Utah, with here and there a farm house surrounded by cultivated fields, divided by green hedges, giving life to the landscape. Ogden, the point of departure for Salt Lake City, is a pleasantly situated Mormon city, with a considerable percentage of Gentiles in the population. The snow-clad mountains which rise abruptly almost from its streets, shelter it from the north and east winds, so that in summer it is extremely hot, though enjoying an elevation of 4300 feet above the sea. The Utah Central Railway, skirting the great Salt Lake, conveys you from Ogden to the City of the Saints in about two hours, passing numerous Mormon settlements on the road.

The Mormon Zion is delightfully situated on a rich alluvial plain at the foot of the Wahsatch mountains that form a kind of amphitheatre behind it, bold and majestic in outline, and crested with perpetual snow, the melting of which affords the city an unlimited supply of running water so conducive to the verdure of its streets. Seen from an elevation of five or six hundred feet, easily attained on the mountain slopes, the city presents an aspect of wonderful uniformity, like a gigantic chess-board, the curious egg-shaped dome of the Tabernacle being a prominent object from all points; the wide streets, with their tree-planted side walks and swift channel streams, the long miles of continuous plain stretching away to the

southward, dotted over with farms and homesteads, the clear sharp outline of the surrounding mountains, the picturesque canõns, through which the valley was entered by the pioneer saints, and the shimmering surface of the great Salt Lake extending to the horizon on the north-west, combine to make up one of the finest pictures between the Alleghanies and the Sierras. I will not attempt any minute description of the city, it has been given in so many travellers' books, in guide-books, and gazetteers; but the general impression of any visitor at all acquainted with its history must be one of profound surprise at the advanced development of the place. Although nearly thirty years since the first discovery of the valley by the persecuted saints, flying from the destruction of Nauroo, it is only within the last dozen years that it has had any real active communication with the outside world. The adobe walls built as a defence against Indians are still standing in many places, and the large majority of the present inhabitants fought their weary way to this haven of rest over a thousand miles of unknown prairie and desert, enduring toil and danger for more months than it now takes days to travel the same distance in ease and safety.

Yet to-day Salt Lake City is a place larger in extent and population than Hobartown, the streets broad and well made, efficiently, lighted by gas, and amply provided with tram cars and omnibusses; an exhaustless water supply laid on to all the houses; retail shops with show rooms up to the fourth story, to which customers are transported in an elegant steam elevation; hotels with ample accommodation in most of them for some hundreds of guests; banks and insurance offices in imposing buildings; theatres and drinking saloons; cricket clubs and swimming baths; and all these modern evidences of progress are watched over, praised or bullied in turn by four daily and two or three weekly newspapers. We did not pander to the vanity of Brigham Young by calling upon him, but managed to get the opportunity of inspecting the grounds of the "Lion House," his principal residence, which were wonderful specimens of fertility and productive gardening; and also had a look at a new mansion he has just finished for his favourite wife, called by the Gentiles "Amelia Palace." It is a very fine building of cemented brick, three stories high, with a tower, and handsome Mansard roof; the colonade that shades the lower story being particularly elegant and tasteful. The tabernacle, the unfinished temple, planned upon the most gigantic proportions, and the museum, completed the sights of the city, and we wound up with a delightful swim in a hot

sulphur spring bath, fed by a stream that issued from the earth hard by, at 110° Fahr.

Whatever may be thought of the peculiar institutions of Mormonism, there can be no doubt that as a rule its professors are a remarkably religious people; indeed nothing but a most fanatical belief in their being the special objects of divine care and guidance could have carried them through the severe trials and bitter persecutions to which they have been subjected. Prayer and exhortation enter largely into all their social intercourse, the strong arm of the Lord is recognised as interfering in what the worldly-minded would consider very trivial matters, while even the most illiterate have a vague sort of idea that they are somehow "fulfilling the Scriptures," whatever that may mean, which stimulates them into an atmosphere of moral aspiration. Their very shop doors and the bill-heads on which they render their accounts bear the legend, "Holiness to the Lord," and the significant emblem of the all-seeing eye is even more prevalent than the typical beehive which is the national representation of the industry of the State of Deseret, as Utah was called before its annexation by the States. Until within the last few years drunkenness and its kindred vices were quite unknown in the land, but the influx of Gentiles on the completion of the trans-continental railway, and more recently on the discovery of gold mines in the adjacent hills, has afflicted the unfortunate saints with a more undesirable addition to their population—men who hang together in a way that makes it dangerous for the authorities to interfere, and for whose benefit the low drinking saloons and other haunts of dissipation exist.

One peculiarity struck me very forcibly in Salt Lake City, and that was the extreme rarity of women in the streets. For one woman that you might meet you would see a hundred men, and this was apparently the same at all hours of the day. Whether it indicates jealousy on the part of the male saints, or the listlessness of a desponding indifference on the part of the ladies, was not made clear to me, but from what I saw of Mormon homes it is certain that the domestic hearth under polygamic conditions is not that haven of peaceful rest at which the high-minded British Benedict likes to toast his slippers. In the first place, in most of the houses there are several hearths, which cannot all be made cheerful at once, and in the next place the consciousness of the trouble that may be brewing for him elsewhere, while the much-married man is trying to do the amiable in one particular quarter, "must give him pause," and dash

his efforts at temporary serenity. Many of the houses have three, four, or five entrance doors, indicating the necessity for separate establishments; but I encountered one case where four wives of the same husband lived in common, and with a harmony that was the admiration of the street. In explanation, however, it must be admitted that the happy four were a mother verging upon sixty and her three middle-aged daughters, a somewhat unusual, but in their case peaceful, combination. Outrageous as these social conditions appear to us, it is quite certain that the leading women in Mormon society are the most vigorous defenders of polygamy, and they not only quote Scripture by the hour to show its Divine authority and sanction, but have their regular monthly journal, "The Woman's Exponent," edited and published by themselves, to represent their views. It struck me, however, that the influence of Mormonism is on the wane; contact with the Gentile World saps the implicit faith of the young, and men who preached polygamy as a religious duty when the ranks of their women were recruited from the outside world, look upon it with a colder eye, as their daughters are developing into womanhood around them. The tone of the anti-Mormon press is bitter in the extreme, and that it has not long since led to bloodshed speaks well for the forbearance of the Saints. In one number of the Salt Lake *Daily Tribune*, April 10, the President, Brigham Young, is referred to as "Porcine Briggy," "Mountain Meadows Cutthroat," "Old Cuss," "hoary sinner," and "brutal bowie knifer," while the language of coarse invective and blasphemous scurrility is exhausted in denouncing the Church and its prominent members. On the other hand, the *Deseret News* is a remarkably well-conducted paper, temperate in tone, deprecatory of violence, and dignified in argument, if somewhat nauseating in its perpetual assumption of the Supreme sanction of the Church of the latter day Saints.

We left Salt Lake city at 7 a.m. on Friday morning, and after breakfasting at Ogden, continued our journey east. The early part of the day is passed in traversing the grand but gloomy defiles known as Weber and Echo Canons, after which the Wahsatch Mountains are ascended by a steady grade, and with the assistance of several rickety-looking trestle bridges over dark mountain gullies. By noon on the second day we attained the summit of the Rocky Mountains, at Sherman, 8250 feet above sea level, but so unlike a peak that the snow-covered plains around the station extended apparently for hundreds of miles with scarcely a perceptible

alteration of level in any direction. Numerous herds of antelope were seen at intervals scouring away from the train, and the tracks of bears and foxes were often visible in the snow; but with the exception of one Indian encampment, there were no signs of human life on all this extent of country beyond the few miserable shanties congregated around the railway stopping places and the one town of Laramie, formerly an Indian trading fort. Leaving Sherman we ran down the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, passing in full view of the Black Hills, where the Indian war was still raging, and where General Custer and his troops were cut off to a man by the Sioux, under "Sitting Bull" and "Spotted Tail," and towards evening entered upon the broad prairies of Nebraska, over which and along the margin of the muddy and shallow Platu River our course lay to the Missouri at Omaha. Passing scores of towns, of which the world knows nothing and cares less, but which the guide books and local papers would fain elevate to the importance of Paris or Berlin, speeding over miles of interminable and monotonous prairie, millions of acres of it on fire, the air reeking with smoke and thick with dust, the cars stifling with store heat, and the social atmosphere in that condition of electric irritability generated by confinement and fatigue, we finally reached the station at Omaha at 4 o'clock on Sunday afternoon, thankful to be once more within the limits of civilization, though far removed from the regions of refinement. The guide books to the contrary, notwithstanding, it was impossible to see anything in Omaha sufficiently attractive to induce a stoppage. It was hot, glaring, dusty, and as full of business as if Sunday was an unknown quantity in the region. The Missouri, a villainously dirty-looking and sluggish river, is crossed by a very fine iron bridge, more than half a mile long and fifty feet above the water level. At Council Bluffs, on the opposite shore, the Union Pacific Railway hands you over to the competing tenderness of at least three rival companies, who each start a train east at the same moment by slightly varying routes. I booked for Chicago by the Burlington and Quincy line, partly on account of the reputed beauty of the scenery, and partly because it was the only line that carried the perfection of modern travelling luxury, a Pullman dining car. At 6 o'clock we sat down to the most leisurely meal we had obtained since leaving San Francisco. The tables were elegant in their appointments and snowy in their damask; the attention of coloured gentlemen in the whitest of linen raiment was assiduity itself, while the moving panorama seen

through the lofty plate glass window was a constant source of delight. The bill of fare comprised three soups, two kinds of fish, all ordinary joints of meat, turkey, chicken, ham, three or four entrées, six sorts of vegetables, five kinds of pastry, ice creams, confections, and tea and coffee, everything served fresh and hot, and the cost was only seventy-five cents, say three shillings. For this insignificant sum you could have every article on the programme seriatim, and any you specially fancied three or four times over. Having been restricted for some time past to twenty minutes for meals, we lingered an hour over this pleasing repast, and retiring early to our berth, I was enabled to be up at five in the morning just as we entered the town of Burlington, on the banks of the Mississippi. The father of waters is a better and brighter looking stream than the Missouri, but his sides are unpicturesquely flat and muddy, and at this particular spot he is disfigured by numerous factories on his banks. The character of the country in Iowa and Illinois, through which we were still passing, was similar to that of Nebraska, flat prairie land, monotonous to the eye, and apparently ill-watered; but of course settlement was much more continuous east of the Missouri than on the remoter plains. Soon after noon the aspect of the country indicated a much increased population; farms followed one another with scarcely any interval, small villages repeated themselves on every favoured spot. A better class of residence stood here and there with a young plantation of trees growing up about it, and finally the characteristic suburban villa indicated that we were approaching a large town. At 3 o'clock we reached the great metropolis of the north-west, the church spires dimly visible as we neared it through the smoke of a thousand chimneys, and a dull haze rolling down off the grey lake. Before reaching the station the line traverses the margin of Lake Michigan for a mile or two, and skirts the edge of the town, affording ample evidence to the traveller, from the activity which he witnesses on both land and water, that he is entering an important commercial centre, and that Chicago is, in the vernacular of the district, "quite a place."

HENRY G. TURNER.

"WINDS OF DOCTRINE" VERSUS "PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY."*

IN the last number of this *Review*, there appeared a paper, contributed by Mr. Topp, on Spencer's "Principles of Sociology." Throughout that book the doctrine of evolution, in its most absolute and extreme sense, is assumed as an established truth of science; it is the basis on which Mr. Spencer's highly-imaginative sociological structure is reared.

In a periodical, such as the present, which aims to reflect our growing culture, it is fitting that opposite views, in respect to questions of universal interest, should be freely ventilated.

I propose, therefore, in these pages, to draw attention to a lately published work, in which it is shown that the doctrine of evolution is not yet a proved scientific fact.

Mr. Spencer has elaborated the evolutionary theory, and pushed it to logical issues, in the earlier volumes of the series to which "Principles of Sociology" belongs. This last work is, in itself, of small account; it is the belief, of which it is the outcome, which is really important.

"Winds of Doctrine" is put forward as expressing the attitude of many able, thoughtful men, who decline, as yet, to give in their adhesion to the doctrines of which Mr. Spencer is, perhaps, the most advanced (though by no means the most distinguished) exponent; for it is well known that Mr. Darwin has been outstripped by his disciples, and that Professors Tyndall and Huxley, at one with Mr. Spencer in the main, do not see their way quite so clearly as he does, through every side and every issue of this far-reaching question. Dr. Elam grapples with it very closely, dealing exclusively with facts, refusing to accept hypotheses, even though supported by the greatest names. His book, which appeared originally as a series of articles in the *Contemporary Review*, is the reverse of speculative; it is not, therefore, adduced as controverting "Principles of Sociology," but as denying the truth of the doctrine from which these principles spring.

Better known as an accomplished physicist and chemist, than as a literary man, it must be admitted that Dr. Elam's style is wanting:

* "Winds of Doctrine," by Dr. Elam. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

in vigour and terseness; repetition and divergence sometimes involve the argument and weaken the force of telling points.

The work, however, is of such interest and value that redundancy or awkwardness of form become of small account.

A very meagre outline is all that it is possible to give here; the writer's object being to draw attention to the book, and to the fact that the basis on which "Principles of Sociology" rests is, by no means, an established truth of science.

Dr. Elam sets out by challenging the doctrine of human automatism, perhaps the most serious and startling result of the evolutionary theory, which he summarises as follows:—

"Matter is all-powerful and all-sufficient."

"Man is only a sentient automaton."

Putting aside every other enquiry connected with this proposition, he asks only,

"Is the doctrine of evolution, of which human automatism is the outcome, true?"

Before proceeding to the argument, the way is here cleared by an appeal—first, to "comparative analogies"; next, to the "aggregate common sense of mankind." With respect to the former, the case of the frog ("which, by a variety of acts, simulates volition when all connection between the brain and the limbs is severed") is contrasted with that of warm-blooded animals, from whom "nothing that resembles complex voluntary action can be elicited after the division of the spinal cord at its junction with the brain."

"It has never occurred to any physiologist to doubt that certain motions and actions are automatic; . . . but it would require many intermediate steps of argument to enable us to conclude that man is an automaton."

In following out the appeal to the aggregate sense of mankind Dr. Elam criticises certain utterances of Professor Huxley, and convicts that brilliant reasoner of contradictory statements when treating of man as an automaton, and yet as "possessing free will."

"The assertion, however, that man is but a conscious automaton does not profess to be based on the results of experience, but upon considerations connected with his nature and origin. It is the corollary of the doctrine of evolution."

Of course the consequences of a doctrine afford no argument against its acceptance if the doctrine be true; still when those consequences

are of great importance, it becomes doubly necessary to inquire into its scientific value.

"The time for this inquiry concerning evolution is fully ripe; not long ago this theory was modestly, and even timidly advanced, as affording a rational solution of natural phenomena; now it is boldly set forth . . . as affording the only thinkable system of nature. The evolution of the universe, with its teeming life, from the lowest forms up to man himself, is traced back to original cosmic vapour, in which, according to the evolutionist, the existing world potentially lay."

In "Principles of Biology" Mr. Spencer contrasts this doctrine with that of a special creation, "much to the disadvantage of the latter." "No one, says Mr. Spencer, "ever saw a special creation." "But," asks Dr. Elam, "did anybody ever see an evolution? Did anyone ever see proof of an act of evolution having taken place?"

After admitting that the doctrine of special creation is no more accessible to scientific proof than that of evolution, and repudiating any intention of upholding the one in opposition to the other, our author controverts the proposition that "there is only one form in matter," and illustrates the gigantic strides that are now taken from conjecture to certainty by a quotation from "Principles of Psychology," where Mr. Spencer first states that, "there is reason to suppose that grouping and combination reduce matter to one original form," and then, without deducing any proof whatever proceeds in the very next paragraph to treat this "reason to suppose" as an ascertained fact. "If then we see that by unlike arrangements of like units all forms of matter . . . may be produced." Dr. Elam maintains that these statements as to the identity of matter, force, or essence are incomprehensible to ordinary intelligence, pointing to the distinction between chemical and mechanical force, and to the difference between the "formation of water from its elements under the influence of the electric spark," and "the assimilation of elements by a living organism." All this, however, is but introductory; the real question as to the truth of evolution commences at "the progression from the inorganic to the organic." On this important link in the chain of evolutionary doctrine, Dr. Elam makes a determined stand, setting himself to demonstrate that "there is, and can be no truth" in the statement that living matter can be formed from non-living matter by ordinary chemical affinities.

"It is in no sense true that protoplasm (the physical basis, or matter of life) 'breaks up' into carbonic acid, water, and ammonia, any more than it is true that iron, when it is exposed to the action of oxygen 'breaks up' into oxide of iron. . . . Under no possible conditions can carbonic acid, water, and ammonia when brought together 'give rise to the still more complex body protoplasm.' "

The allusion here is to a paper by Professor Huxley, wherein the origination of protoplasm is also likened to the formation of water from its elements. These cases are shown to be in no way analogous; the constituents of water combine to form an equal weight of the compound, whereas in protoplasm the so-called elements do not combine at all.

"On the contrary, they are decomposed and uncombined by a process, most assuredly unknown in our laboratories. What especially distinguishes the formation of protoplasm from all chemical processes is, that it is never formed except under the immediate contact and influence of pre-existing and living protoplasm. . . . This appearance of an entirely new and distinct order of affinities constitutes the break in continuity, and interrupts the sequence of development. There is no 'great progression' from 'the inorganic to the organic.' "

In connection with phenomena indicating more complex active forces, the use of the terms "vital," "vitality" (rejected by the evolutionist), is vindicated; and vital or organic force is shown to differ absolutely from chemical or magnetic force far more than either do from mechanical. All these indeed are inter-related, and under certain conditions, convertible, whereas "we are utterly unable to convert any of these into the higher order of energy that we term vital."

"Not only are we unable to produce living force, but we are entirely unable to make a combination of non-living matter out of inorganic elements resembling in any way matter that may or can live. . . . We can decompose protoplasm into what we call its elements; but it has never been re-formed, except under the direct agency of actually living protoplasm."

Mr. Spencer, indeed, states that "chemists do not doubt their ability to produce (artificially) the highest forms of organic matter" but, as no chemist has yet done so, Dr. Elam contends that we are justified in regarding the chasm between the inorganic and the organic as in no sense at present filled up. The success of chemists in the former domain, while an impassable barrier hinders progress in the construction of organizable matter, indicates that, "the

affinities of life belong to a chemistry of which we know nothing, and which we in vain strive to imitate."

"The fact remains that we are unable to imitate vital affinity so far as to make a bit of material ready for its use. . . . We can neither give life to previously inert matter, nor can we restore the life that has, however recently, left the organism."

Having shown that the evolutionary theory in respect to the development of organic life from inorganic matter, is entirely unsupported by actual facts, our author proceeds to consider the doctrine which "derives man in his totality, from the inter-action of organisms and environment, through countless ages past"

This is another outcome of evolution; but its most able upholders exhibit here an opposition between it and their own scientific observations.

Thus, Professor Tyndall, who—

"Sees with the eye of imagination a primitive nebular haze, gradually contracting into a molten mass, wherein are latent and potential, not only all forms of life, noble and ignoble, but the human mind itself; emotion, intellect, will, all our philosophy, poetry, science, art, are potential in the fires of the sun." At the same time, he tells us that he "frankly admits his inability to point to any satisfactory experimental proof that life can be developed, save from demonstrable antecedent life."

And further, "without the presence of germs (antecedent life), no organisms ever originate."

"I cannot see," remarks Dr. Elam, "that a cooling planet would be much more likely to produce minute organisms than a cooling flask."

But the upholders of evolution here fall back on the continuity or observed uniformity of Nature, which is the "last stronghold of the theory of the material origin of life."

"Let us inquire what it tells us. Going back from generation to generation, and passing from the highest to the lowest organisms, each form of life in long succession declares, 'We derive our life from antecedent life;' but we imagine ourselves finally to arrive at the period when the *first organisms* appeared on our globe. Now, if there really be such laws of physical and intellectual continuity extending across this line, these also must declare, 'We come from antecedent life.' 'If, however,' they say, 'we are the natural product of the inter-action of inorganic matter and force,' then the continuity of thought is broken."

Adverting again to the "procession of the organic from the inorganic," Dr. Elam maintains that—

"The line of demarcation between the smallest fragment of living Protoplasm

and any inorganic matter is as strongly defined, if not as wide, as that between the eagle and the rock on which his eyrie is built."

The weakness of the doctrine under consideration is conspicuously seen in the repeated prognostications of a future, when chemists shall have succeeded in forming organisable matter. We all know that every portion of an animal body may be reduced to inorganic elements; to the philosophic imagination a perfect reversal of the process is conceivable, which would carry us from the inorganic to the organic.

"Imagine," says Dr. Elam, "a crystal vase dashed to atoms, a manuscript burned to ashes, a living body killed by a fall, an exploded barrel of gun-powder; a perfect reversal of any one of these events or processes is as practicable as that which is here pronounced conceivable. The cause must indeed be hopeless into whose service such suppositions are pressed. Pending the production of additional evidence we are entitled at least to hold it 'not proven, and to reject as a baseless conception any other doctrine, as that of human automatism' (and Mr. Spencer's new sociological teaching), 'which is built upon it.'"

If the proofs of a purely creative power cannot be adduced from the scientific aspect of this subject, it may yet with certainty be affirmed that at a certain epoch in the world's history a new power, or force, was manifested, which we call organic force, and which we know only from its effects, these being such as can be produced by no other known force or combination of forces.

Space forbids us to dwell on our author's application of the doctrine of the conservation and correlation of forces; his argument demonstrates that while all other forces have their cycles of correlation, "Life has no physical correlate."

In concluding this part of the subject he justifies the line of argument taken in endeavouring to establish the existence of a special organic force by a comparison between it and the method by which science has hypothecated the existence of a luminous ether, filling space and transmitting light.

We regard this as the weak part of the book; in the region of assumption Dr. Elam is unequal to his opponents.

Physical and chemical demonstration are his strong points; he lacks the faculty of stating a supposition, at once so graphically that it impresses itself on the mind, and so gracefully that it seizes the imagination, thus imperceptibly passing into the domain of fact.

The latter portion of the book addresses itself to disproving the proposition that—

“All forms of life, including man himself, have been successively and gradually developed from the earliest and simplest organisms.”

Premising that from a biological point of view Mivart's “Genesis of Species,” and “Lessons from Nature,” have exhausted all that can be said on this branch of the subject, Dr. Elam proceeds to indicate a few facts on which he thinks “due stress has not been laid.” The first is, that—

“The hypothesis of natural selection is not directly supported by any single fact in the whole range of natural history or palæontology; but that every fact which is certainly known in those sciences, so far as it bears on natural selection, directly opposes it.”

Evidence in favour of this statement is brought even from the testimony of those who uphold the doctrine of natural selection.

Professor Huxley admits that the theory “has no direct support from Palæontology, or from the phenomena of the now living world.”

The three elements of Mr. Darwin's hypothesis are, “variability,” “struggle for existence,” and “natural selection;” by means of these it is supposed that “after the evolvment of organic from inorganic matter, all forms of life—including man—have appeared, without the *intrusion* of creative power.”

Concerning “variability” we have a close argument setting forth the distinction between “structural” and “physiological” variation.

“If any biological position can be established, beyond doubt it is this, that infinite structural variability with absolute physiological stability, must be considered as proof that specific differences are not dependent on structure alone, but are largely due to a ‘special endowment’ not to be traced to the ‘molecular possibilities of Protoplasm.’ ”

Concerning “the struggle for existence,” we perceive that the balance of the organic world is preserved by “the order of nature, in obedience to which the stronger prey upon the weaker. Against this law, without which nature itself would be a chaotic impossibility, there is no appeal, no resistance, no *struggle*.”

Mr. Darwin insists on the, at first, extremely minute character of natural variations; but it is difficult to see how such trifling varieties could give their possessors any advantage. The rudiments

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of an additional organ, gland, or limb would be functionless, and therefore useless, if developed in this way.

Mr. Darwin has himself recognised the serious difficulty which the absence of transitional forms presents; he attributes this to the "imperfection of the geological record;" admitting that those "who do not adopt this view respecting the imperfect nature of the geological record, will rightly reject the whole theory of development."

If, however, geology yields no support to this theory, it has a tale to tell directly controverting it. It shows relics of gigantic fishes, mighty reptiles, ponderous monsters, which shook the earth with their weighty tread.

"Not germs, or small species appeared first, but these which, as their dynasty grew old, were not improved and preserved; . . . but dwindled to make room for their successors."

After a general survey of the subject, the mere surface of which has been skimmed in these pages, Dr. Elam sums up in the following syllogism:—

"Without verification a theoretic conception is a mere figment of the intellect; but the theory of organic evolution is an unverified theoretic conception; therefore organic evolution is a mere figment of the intellect."

The work concludes with a candid statement of the evolutionary position from the stand-point of homological science. This branch of Physiology investigates the profound resemblances which often underlie superficial differences. It is in this direction that the doctrine in question gets its strongest support.

"It cannot be doubted that community of descent, genetic relationship, or blood affinity, combined with indefinite variability, would account for these resemblances and differences; but as these conditions are entirely hypothetical, we inquire if they cannot be explained by other means. If they *cannot*, then derivation must be accepted. If, however, rational analogies indicate another possibility, then the question still remains *sub judice*."

Instances of such "rational analogies" are now brought forward from the domains of chemistry and biology, stress being laid upon the fact that—

"Wherever we turn in biological research, we are compelled to recognise, behind every outer form of life, a 'special endowment,' producing diverse effects from the same cause. The primordial germs of a man, a dog, a bird, a fish, or a snail, are in no essential structural respect distinguishable, yet in virtue of this 'special endowment' each ultimately assumes its destined form."

Concerning developmental relations between the five different structural types of the animal kingdom, the upholders of evolution admit that "there is not the least evidence to prove that a form in the slightest degree transitional between any two of these types exists, or has ever existed, during that period of the earth's history recorded by the geologist."

"Let it be understood," says Dr. Elam, "that there is absolutely nothing known *scientifically* concerning man's origin. All that has been, or can be said consists merely of rash inferences from the general doctrine of evolution which we have strong reason to believe an unverified theoretic conception. The arguments advanced are admirably adapted to prove what I suppose it has never occurred to any one to doubt, viz., that man is an animal. It is difficult to conceive what else he could be, if he were destined to be a living, active, intelligent creature in any form; and if an animal, then it is certain his type of formation must correspond to that of the higher mammalia. The question is not whether man is an animal, but whether he is not also something more Whether he is not endowed with attributes differing, not only in degree, but in kind, from those of the brute; attributes of which the brute has not even the most elementary germ."

In reference to the immediate descent of man, it is shown that the supporters of development do not agree, either with themselves or with each other.

In order to bridge over the gulf between the invertebrata and the vertebrata, some introduce the Ascidian, "a creature of low organization, about on a level with the oyster, whose larvæ are said to be related to the vertebrata in their manner of development."

"It is here demonstrable either that zeal for theory has led Mr. Darwin and his school into palpable error, or that there is no truth in the received doctrines of embryology. No embryonic form of any animal can possibly represent a higher type of development than the animal itself. . . . I have never seen any dissection of the larva in question, nor heard of any. All that I urge is this, that such a fact (if fact it be) will utterly destroy the entire science of embryology."

Other upholders of the theory have perceived this difficulty, and provided for it by inserting in our genealogical tree a form of animal, "of whose existence there is not the smallest evidence."

"There is no living representative of them; there is no fossil evidence of their early existence; the sole *raison d'être* of the case is, that they are required by the hypothesis. Thus our study of man's pedigree as set forth by the evolutionists, lands us in a serious dilemma. Either the pedigree is shattered at the most important point by collision with embryology, or this

doctrine of development, upon which evolution is mainly supported, is proved to be a delusion, inasmuch as it cannot by any possibility be strained to include Mr. Darwin's facts.

Our extracts convey but a very superficial idea of the book in question; we commend it to those who are interested in this subject, and yet have neither the time nor the previous knowledge that would enable them to investigate it for themselves.

As stated at the outset, the object of this paper is, not to controvert "Principles of Sociology," but to call attention to the fact that the doctrines which it assumes are "not proven."

The heroes of philosophy and science in former days were wont to guard carefully against assumptions; our present leaders of thought (worthy representatives in many respects) have abandoned this wise caution. Certain phenomena suggest a theory; it is put forward as a working hypothesis, at first modestly; its weak points candidly admitted, its strong ones only insisted on; the admirers or disciples of its originator seize on it, popularise it, hasten conclusions, weak points retire into the background, ignored, forgotten, and presently the modest theory emerges, a principle of science, to furnish in its turn a starting point for further philosophical guesses.

Unhappily these guesses are now turned in a direction which menaces our social and domestic life, and therefore touches civilization as we know it; for civilisation has always been linked to religion, and religious beliefs (whatever form they may take) are the outcome or a recognition (intuitive or revealed) of a divine essence in man, through which he is brought into connection with the Infinite Spirit. It is this sense of the spiritual within and around that gives dignity to humanity; from it has sprung reverence for human life and for those laws which secure to every man his just rights; compassion for misfortune, sympathy with suffering; the affections and virtues which beautify our common lives: the noble efforts and worthy aims which have been the glory of our race.

Doubtless Christian civilisation has its dark side, ugly blots festering plague spots, not much less virulent than those which disgraced the civilisation of antiquity; but the attitude of modern religion towards these is the opposite of that held by the religion of "joyousness and culture" (much lauded now-a-days by certain erratic poets), towards the moral plague spots of its day; it fostered and assimilated them; religion in our times condemns, repudiates, and strives against them.

So that, in spite of much that is anomalous and unworthy, our Christian civilisation is the most beneficent and the grandest which the world has yet seen.

No wonder, therefore, that society demands cogent reason, absolute demonstration, when philosophy steps forward to dissociate religion and civilisation.

How are we to respect one another ; how can we respect ourselves, when we have come to believe that we are simply educated brutes ? What meaning has duty to such ? Where is the motive for patriotism, philanthropy, self-discipline ? I know we are exhorted to aim at the perfection of our race ; but that motive is purloined, stolen ; it is an immortal *idea*, an unselfish *thought*, springing from the region of benevolent intellect, not an *instinct* natural to the animal consciousness. How can motive so high above himself influence a human brute ? The world has no experience of any true national and social life, apart from the religious idea ; we, who have grown up surrounded by the influences of Christendom, while that term was not a misnomer, may be pardoned for feeling a misgiving (prejudice if Mr. Spencer prefers the word) concerning the issues of a civilisation supported by the materialistic philosophy. Nevertheless, if it can be proved a *true* philosophy, it must be accepted ; we plead only for an abatement of reiterated assumptions which are disturbing the hopes of some to whom the present existence is but a scene of suffering, weakening powers of resistance in others, whose lot is cast in the midst of temptation, and destroying that quietness of mind which sustains many an uncheered life of continual effort.

Before the steady light of truth we shall not blench, but these forked flashes of conjecture only scathe and dazzle ; they do not enlighten. Ultimately they may, perhaps, help to readjust the equilibrium between religion and reason, at present disturbed by a narrow dogmatism on the one hand, and by an arrogant self-confidence on the other ; meantime, the weak, the wilful, and the ignorant are injured.

Let it be understood that we do not plead for a hiding of the truth, only for a modest acknowledgment of the distinction between that Divine light and the flickering rays which have as yet reached us, bent and refracted by the medium through which they have passed.

It is difficult to understand the reason of the enthusiasm with which such opinions as those so industriously propagated by Mr. Spencer have been received in some quarters. If the idea be that

they will rid the world of what is called ecclesiasticism and superstition, we submit that the means are ponderously disproportioned to, beyond and above, the end. Superstition and ecclesiasticism are mere aggregations of prejudice and custom, and are easily got rid of; but what shall compensate mankind for the lost hope of spiritual life? A calamity so appalling would rend the heart of humanity, and call forth an universal wail of despair—the death-cry of a race standing alone; a gigantic mockery upon the earth; nature's *solitary* instance of falsified instincts and yearnings which can never be satisfied.

H. N. B.

GRADUATED SUCCESSION DUTIES.

IN reading Professor Pearson's able and interesting paper in the April number of the *Melbourne Review*, one could not help feeling that his statements as to the present evils and future dangers of large properties in land, however striking, scarcely applied to the circumstances of a new colony like Victoria. Even if we admit, as many thoughtful students of the past and many keen observers of the present do, that over-accumulation of property in a few hands is an evil, before accepting the strong remedy which Mr. Pearson proposes, it would be well to hear every side and listen to every suggestion. All the direct attempts that have been made hitherto in the colonies to prevent the increase of holdings, and to encourage the growth of a yeoman class by liberal land laws, have failed to call out the yeoman-spirit. The ease with which land was acquired made it less coveted and less firmly grasped by the main body of the selectors. Either the yeoman was so successful that he added field to field, and ceased to be a small proprietor, or he was so unsuccessful compared with his expectations, that he sold to the large proprietor near whose estate his selection had been taken up. The more liberal the land laws were to the non-capitalist, the more temptation was offered him, either openly or covertly, by his wealthy neighbour for his holding; and Victoria now sees that she has hurried into the market her valuable reserve of land, without finding that the genuine cultivators bear any fair proportion to the quantity of real estate alienated far below its intrinsic value.

Is it certain that a graduated land tax with limitations as to the quantity held (as advocated by Mr. Pearson and the party with whom on that point he connected himself) would not also over-shoot its mark? Would it not lead to dummyism and frauds beyond any ever seen before; and, at the same time, lower permanently the value of all real estate, whether in private hands, or still in the possession of the Government? It is the active competition of the wealthiest bidder that fixes the value of land, as well as of any other commodity.

Is it just to force enormous sales of land bought in perpetuity

by a law of limitation made afterwards, and to make a heavy differential tax on such property act as a deterrent from the investment of capital in this, the most conservative of all investments? Is it expedient to set class against class, and one house of Legislature against another, by so sweeping a measure, if any milder method of encouraging distribution could be devised?

In a new country, where there are no laws of entail, and no custom or law of primogeniture, the tendency is for great fortunes to be divided and dispersed in a generation or two. This, as Professor Holmes tells us, is notably the case in the United States; but we in Australia have not patience to wait for the operation of natural causes—we want to break up the estates at once. It may be said that the United States, except in the Southern and slave-holding States, offer no parallel to our large landed possessions in Australia. Owing to the rigorous winter, sheep-farming, the industry best suited to a new country, which requires large tracts of land to make it profitable, took no hold in America. In Australia it was the earliest and most beneficial of pursuits, both to the individual and to the colonies. At first, the pastoral capitalist had no need to purchase land. It was to be had almost for the asking, and his whole means were left free for the purchase of sheep and cattle, which improved immensely the value of the land obtained at a low rent from Government. When the cry arose of "Unlock the lands," the squatter had to yield, and was pushed back to make room for population and cultivation, except where he could buy up the agriculturist, which he often managed to do. On the bought land he found he could pasture his stock profitably if he could only reduce expenses of labour. By a further large investment of money, he fenced paddocks, sunk wells, constructed tanks, and made the carrying powers of each acre higher than before; and now he has the odium of monopolising the greatest quantity of land, and employing the smallest quantity of labour, of any capitalist in the colony. The harder the Legislature worked to keep land out of his hands, the more he seemed eventually to secure, and now, alarmed at the extent of his acquisitions, the so-called Liberal politicians propose to make it penal to hold more than 50,000 acres, and to tax heavily, on a graduated scale, that land which their own injudicious tampering with the laws of supply and demand has thrown into the hands of the squatter and the capitalist.

I do not think that party, or Mr. Pearson himself, can see the full effect of such a measure as that popularly called the "bursting-up" scheme. Even if over-accumulation is an evil, the industry, the enterprise, the patience, and the self-restraint which find their fitting reward in the acquisition of a large estate, benefit every country directly and indirectly. Those of our free selectors who possessed these qualities have kept their land and increased their holdings; those who have them not, have parted with them freely, and would part with them under whatever laws they were held. Money, no doubt, makes money, and that is a grievance in the eyes of those who spend all they earn; but it benefits more than the maker in the process. The modern capitalist, in these times of freedom and security, is no useless miser, hiding money in holes and idly counting it over day by day; his capital is always moving in some direction somewhere, and generally most beneficially when he appears to be most close-fisted. We should injure the whole community if we removed the spur to exertion supplied by the sacred earth-hunger; if we loaded with taxes or hampered by restrictions the acquisition of landed property. Capital is a beneficent genius, but she is shy, and can easily take wings and fly from land to land; and if by over-taxation of the wealthy we make the colonies distasteful to those whose present interests are so strongly bound up in their prosperity, they and their property—all but their land greatly reduced in value by their absence—would take their departure for a newer or an older country, and the loss would be ours rather than theirs.

All sound legislation in modern civilised countries has been based on the principle of giving perfect freedom to what every man may earn or acquire. In England, taxes to reach the wealthier classes specially, have been mainly directed towards luxuries and privileges which the rich may use or not as they please. Although in England the Income-tax spares altogether those below a certain income, beyond that limit the percentage is the same on a moderate as on an enormous income. The capital of England is understood and felt to be the wage-paying fund; and as it is an ascertained fact that the poor-rate (meant for the relief of the poor) sensibly lowered wages in proportion to their weight on the employers of labour, so it is believed that a special tax on the income and the property of the wealthy would diminish materially the amount to be distributed among the large mass of men and women who depend upon their day's wages for their daily bread.

But although, as Mr. J. S. Mill put it, there should be no hindrance offered to what a man may acquire, or even to what he may bequeath*—for full possession implies the full right of bequest—it is very different with what a man may *inherit*. In this distinction between the terms bequeath and inherit, we see how the Victorian legislature, in framing the present Act for imposing succession duties, let slip through their fingers the principle that would have favoured distribution without violating the rights of property or lowering the value of real estate, as the “bursting-up” scheme would do. The Victorian Parliament only took hold of one idea—that a large estate should pay a heavier succession duty than a small one; and made no difference in the rate paid on an estate of a million, if it were left to one man or to fifty. If the rate were calculated, not on the bulk sum bequeathed, but on the separate sum inherited by each heir or legatee, as a graduated scale according to its amount, the revenue to the State would probably be no less, and the indirect effect would be to break up the large estates and distribute wealth among the community.

There is no tax which combines so many advantages as that on succession. It is just, because it is through the sufferance and protection of an orderly government that the property, whether real or personal, has been acquired, and that the heir, who may be weak in body or feeble in mind, comes into peaceable possession of any portion of it; it is scarcely felt because it is taken from unearned money before it has been received; it is the most cheaply collected and the most difficult to evade of any description of tax. In England the legacy and succession duty is graduated according to the old natural law—the degree of kinship. Husband and wife being (as Mr. Bumble says under a great mistake) one in the eyes of the law, pay no succession duty on each other's estate, but—

Children and their descendants pay	...	...	1 per cent.
Brothers and sisters and their descendants	...	3	„
Uncles and aunts and their descendants	...	5	„
Grand-uncles and grand-aunts	...	6	„
More distant relatives and strangers in blood	...	10	„

All legacies under £20 are free of taxation.

* The French limitation of bequest was, in Mr. Mill's opinion, a mistaken effort to ensure distribution which often works very mischievously.

Probate duties in Victoria are—

On estates not exceeding ...	£1,000	1 per cent.
„ „ ...	5,000	2 „
„ „ ...	10,000	3 „
„ „ ...	20,000	4 „
„ „ ...	30,000	5 „
„ „ ...	40,000	6 „
„ „ ...	60,000	7 „
„ „ ...	80,000	8 „
„ „ ...	100,000	9 „
Above ...	...	10 „

In cases of widow, children, or grand-children of deceased, the duty to be one-half of above.

What I would here propose is, that all small legacies not exceeding £100, should pay a nominal tax, whether left to child or friend or servant, or whether they are a whole estate or only a small fraction of a large one. For instance, if a man leaves an estate of £1000, divided equally amongst ten children, the tax might be $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to all. If he leaves £500 to one, and £100 to each of five others, the first might pay 1 per cent., and the others each $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. If he leaves £1000 to one, the tax ought to be 2 per cent.; and the same principle should be carried out on all estates, great and small.

Proposed taxes on Inheritance—

On sums not exceeding ...	£100	$0\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
„ „ ...	500	1 „
„ „ ...	1000	2 „
„ „ ...	2500	3 „
„ „ ...	5000	4 „
„ „ ...	10,000	5 „
„ „ ...	25,000	$7\frac{1}{2}$ „
„ „ ...	50,000	10 „
„ „ ...	75,000	$12\frac{1}{2}$ „
„ „ ...	100,000	15 „
„ „ ...	250,000	$17\frac{1}{2}$ „

and above that sum, 20 per cent., if left to any one person or any one public institution. The gradation of rates to be enforced on the whole estate, whether it is in land or personal property.

This would leave it in the power of the millionaire either to make an eldest son or to found a great institution, at a cost of a tax of 20 per cent. to the State, the greatest public institution we possess; or to divide his large estate amongst many at a smaller

sacrifice. In the first case, the State would receive an enormous contribution; in the second, the tax would be much smaller, but six or eight, or more, well-to-do people living probably in the colony, employing labor and developing the resources of their property, would indirectly benefit the country even more.

This may be said to be a very slow way of curing the evils of overgrown landed estates, but it would be a surer and a safer way of doing it than by Professor Pearson's scheme. The progressive land-tax would at once raise an enormous revenue, but it might be avoided by transfers of land to friends, who would lease it with the right of purchase, or by transferring the land to paupers, who would execute mortgages over the property for a great deal more than its value. The main object aimed at by Mr. Pearson however, was not the raising of an immediate revenue, but the breaking up of the enormous estates, and this would be effected indirectly and inoffensively by the graduated succession duty; whereas the other could only be executed by the strong hand of an unscrupulous majority from an indignant propertied class, and at the risk of the direst collision between the two Houses of Legislature.

And here it may be said that the Upper Houses in our colonial parliaments, which are elected by the only property suffrage existing here, have some right to the discussion and the modification, if not indeed to the initiation of such measures as the "bursting-up" system, and the succession duties here proposed. The Legislative Council is not like the House of Lords, a hereditary but a representative body. The House of Assembly is not elected like the English House of Commons by a property qualification, based originally on land for the most part; and, consequently, the hard and fast regulation or tradition that the Lower House should alone deal with money bills, has no holding-ground under our changed conditions. The present system in Australia allows the representatives of the non-propertied classes to put their hands into the pockets of the rich, without that class, through their representatives, being able to show which pocket they would prefer to be drawn upon. All they can do is doggedly to refuse, and then comes a dead-lock, and a mischievous stoppage of public business.

I think that the propertied classes would prefer the distribution to come from themselves according to their last wills and testaments, than to have heavy land taxation and restrictions as to

quantity. Many of them may see a clear gain in a system which makes the rich man, who has a large family, pay less than the rich man who has only one to provide for. The Victorian system really discourages small bequests from wealthy men, for it seems as if it needed to be a handsome legacy that could afford to pay 10 per cent. A case in point may illustrate this: A gentleman in South Australia several years ago left a legacy of £500 to an enterprising colonist, who had opened up by skill and perseverance a valuable trade, from which he personally had derived little or no benefit. Under the law then in force in South Australia it paid no duty at all; under the scheme proposed in this paper, it would pay 1 per cent.—a mere trifle; but under the English law it would have had to pay 10 per cent., because the good colonist was a stranger in blood; and under the Victorian law it would also pay 10 per cent., because it was a portion of a large estate. Perhaps under neither of these governments would the bequest have been made at all. If any one recalls how many legacies are left to old and faithful servants amounting to nineteen guineas, because under £20 the sum was paid entire, whereas out of a legacy of £20 the State would claim £2, or 10 per cent, from one not related to the testator, he will acknowledge that the high duty had a great effect in determining the sum. Under the system here advocated, there would be innumerable small bequests by wealthy men to old friends, old servants, and public institutions, which would never be thought of if the tax were 10 per cent., but which it would seem a positive saving to get off at $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1 per cent. Occasionally the desire to found a family may over-ride all considerations of this kind, and the large estate may be kept intact even at the sacrifice of 20 per cent., but laws are not made for exceptional individuals, but for the average human being.

This scheme is not put forward as being perfect in detail, but as showing the principle which should lie at the root of taxation of inherited wealth. If, in the course of time, it was found that it divided property too much, as the French law of inheritance is believed to do, it might be modified without difficulty, and without any disturbance of vested rights. At the present time, we think that we see clearly the evils of over-accumulation, and we are apt to shut our eyes to the opposite danger. It is also very difficult to tell, in new colonies like ours in Australia, what really helps or hinders our material prosperity. Their natural resources are so enormous that they must steadily increase in wealth and population,

in spite of the greatest political and fiscal blunders. Free-trade or protection—immigration or non-immigration—can only hasten or delay for a few years our onward progress, so far as material advance is concerned. But the political, moral, and social danger of making the wealthier and more highly educated classes feel that they are overborne and oppressed by the ignorant and the *proletaire*, is a much more serious evil. If there is any one lesson which can certainly be learned from the experience of the Great Republic of the United States, it is this: that the wealth, the intelligence, and the virtue of every country should be encouraged to take an active part in its government, and should feel some charms in a political career. The lowering of the character of the Legislature, the corruption of the Civil service, the enormous difficulties attending reform, are the consequences of that aloofness (to use George Eliot's new, but expressive term) which the educated, the refined, and the scrupulously honourable have maintained with regard to the troubled sea of politics. The closeness of the contests in many of the recent elections in Victoria, shows that enormous minorities are unrepresented; and until some means of making the representation equal and proportional is adopted, no one can tell the real strength of opposing parties, and under the ballot all prophecy as to success is idle. Perhaps now, when the educated and wealthy are smarting under their defeat, they will turn their attention to what they have hitherto pooh-poohed as theoretical, and, by catching hold of the true principle of democracy, they may serve the true interests of conservatism. Until the practical politician recognises the value of abstract ideas, he blunders with the best and purest intentions; and until we amend the old clumsy method of taking the sense of the people by the bare majorities in separated districts, no democracy can escape such disastrous results as those of the general elections of Victoria of 1877.

Adelaide.

C. H. SPENCE.

ENGLAND.—1877.

THOU hast not played the braggart in our time,
O land of commerce foremost once in war ;
We hear soft voices from thy rugged shore,
Proclaiming all aggression to be crime ;
“Sweet peace,” they cry, “should reign from clime to clime.”
But look abroad ! The war-hounds gnash and roar ;
The Cossack stretches forth his arm for more,
Muttering his fulsome prayers like some base mime.
While as of old, O glorious mother isle,
Thou hast arrayed thyself in warlike might,
Waiting expectant to uphold the right.
Thy battle-ships are at the envied gates ;
And thy brief words in scorn of Russia’s guile,
Have wrung respect from cold and alien states.

ARTHUR PATCHETT MARTIN.

SCIENCE GLEANINGS.

AN important contribution to the Natural History of Meteorites has lately been made by Mr. H. C. Sorby, F.R.S. The general opinion with regard to the origin of the masses of metallic and other mineral matters which occasionally fall on the earth's surface is, that they are fragments of a wrecked planet, which, coming within the sphere of the earth's attraction are thus drawn out of the orbit in which they were previously moving. Mr. Sorby has examined microscopically thin sections of a great number, and in some has found appearances totally unlike those in any terrestrial rock ever observed by him. Imbedded in the mass he found globules of perfectly vitrified material, which had not been formed either by mechanical wearing or by the aggregation of crystals round a common centre. He considers that they can have been formed only by a spray of the molten matter having been thrown into an atmosphere hot enough to keep it fluid till it aggregated into globules, which falling back by the force of gravitation to the surface from which they had arisen, formed a conglomerate with other materials. From the broken condition and molecular changes in many of the globules it was apparent that they had been subjected to very violent mechanical and other influences, and at last hurled into space. Mr. Sorby is of opinion that the conditions thus shown to be essential to the formation of these meteorites are to be found only in the sun; and he points out that the velocity with which the red flames have been seen to be thrown out from the sun, is almost as great as that necessary to carry a solid body far out into planetary space. Of course it is allowed by Mr. Sorby that his conclusions can only be regarded as provisional, considering how little we know of the original constitution of the solar system; but there is a startling difference in the view thus given from the opinions and speculations about meteorites being "the fuel of the sun," which have been often expressed.

The well-known observation, that when a piece of glowing charcoal is rapidly whirled round it appears to the eye as a fiery circle, has long ago been explained by the fact that the impressions made on the retina, which constitute vision, have a distinct, measurable duration, so that when one impression follows another with

sufficient rapidity they become continuous, and therefore the distinct points of light are seen as a complete circle. Exact experiments have shown that if the impressions are not separated by a longer interval than one-tenth (1-10th) of a second they have this appearance of being continuous, and therefore they may be considered to last for that length of time. Dr. Léon Lalanne has been led to make some experiments on the sense of touch, to discover whether the same persistence of impressions holds good with regard to it. A small object, such as the point of a quill, was attached to a rotating wheel, and made to touch one point of the skin at short intervals. The result of a large number of trials was to the effect, that the impressions were not felt as continuous unless at least ten rotations, *i.e.*, ten distinct contacts occurred in a second; but that at different parts of the body, and in different persons, the necessary rapidity of the recurring contact varied, the shortest period required being 1-24th to 1-25th of a second. The inference is that the substratum of sensation in both cases is essentially the same; or, to put it otherwise, that the nervous apparatus by which impressions of light and touch are received and conducted, though so different in form, and acted on by stimuli so different, are substantially identical.

In spite of the ability and industry which have of late years been so unsparingly applied to carrying on investigations bearing on the possibility of spontaneous generation, we seem to be still far from reaching conclusions which can be generally adopted. The present state of the question has been well described in an article in the *Contemporary Review* for April last. The writer shows distinct leanings to the side of the Abiogenesisists; and in one place is, without reason, quite contemptuous to the opponents of the doctrine of Abiogenesis, who, he says, have tried to account for the appearance of organisms in a boiled fluid containing particles of cheese, by the supposition that the germs contained in the cheese had been by it prevented from attaining the same temperature as the boiling fluid. As he says, and illustrates by the boiling of an egg, this is ridiculous, so ridiculous indeed that it is hardly possible to conceive of any one believing it. The attempted explanation, however, was something quite different—this, namely—that just as dried germs may be heated for some time to a temperature of at least 212° F., without losing their vitality, so the germs enclosed in a piece of cheese may be protected from the effects of the heat for a longer time than when in a clear solution. Taken altogether, however, the article is very

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interesting and full of important facts. Even since it was written there has been progress made. It is allowed on both sides that there are some fluids which may be boiled even for several hours and yet develop living organisms after being hermetically sealed under the use of all precautions. The Abiogenesisists assert that as it is impossible to conceive that any pre-existing germs could resist such treatment, the appearance of life under such circumstances, they say, is explicable only on the supposition that it had originated spontaneously. On the other hand, Tyndall and others have insisted that though adult organisms would undoubtedly perish, it does not follow that the same would necessarily happen with dried germs or spores, and the different results obtained by Tyndall himself, in different localities, certainly seem to point to some such explanation as he gives, viz., that very dry germs had been floating in the atmosphere of the room where his experiments failed. This was mere inference, however, and could be met by counter-assertion on the part of his opponents. Quite recently, however, the Rev. W. H. Dallinger has announced, as the result of a laborious series of investigations, that the monads found in putrid fluids do propagate by means of very minute spores, and that these spores are not killed by exposure to a heat of 300° F., though the fully developed monads perish at 140° F. It has also been announced that the spores of the *bacillus anthracis* resist a temperature higher than the boiling point. Of course till these statements have passed through the crucible of adverse criticism, they will only obtain provisional acceptance; and, indeed, on general grounds, it is not easy to accept the opinion, that a germ, so minute as scarcely to be discoverable with the help of the most powerful microscope, though protected by its dried envelope, can be boiled for several hours without injury. If we are to be guided by analogy here, as naturalists are generally guided, in denying the occurrence of spontaneous generation, this indestructibility of dried germs seems of the two to be the more directly contradictory to all our experience of the deportment of such things as dried seeds when long boiled. The issue between the conflicting parties is gradually becoming narrowed; though, even if this great power of resistance on the part of germs should come to be allowed by Bastian and his followers, and if long-continued or repeated boiling at or above 212° should ultimately be shown to sterilise with certainty all kinds of infusions, it does not need much prophetic power to anticipate that those who now hold the theory of Abiogenesis will still have open to them the explanation, that the

sterility thus attained is not really due to the destruction of all germs, but to changes produced in the infusions, rendering them incapable of generating life. The question has now reached the stage of flat contradiction between Pasteur and Bastian, the former having alleged that a certain mixture is sterilised infallibly by keeping it for twenty minutes at a temperature of 110° C. (230° F.), and the latter replying that he had kept it at that heat for twenty hours, and afterwards found living organisms in abundance. Bastian has since gone over to Paris to repeat his experiments before a commission appointed by the Academy of Sciences at Pasteur's request. From some misunderstanding as to the exact object of the commission, nothing was done, and it almost seems as if the Englishman had received scant courtesy, especially from Professor Milne-Edwards, who, with Dumas and Boussingault, had been appointed to examine and report. Of course any such report now by friends and colleagues of Pasteur, on his experiments only, will not have so much value as it might have had, if based on work done by the rival experimentalists in each other's presence.

Any branch of human knowledge may be regarded as having fair claims to the rank of an exact science, when it has reached the stage of verified prediction, and an interesting example of this, as regards geology, has recently been reported. Many years ago, Mr. Joseph Prestwich, as the result of his investigations of the strata in the neighbourhood of London, ventured the opinion that the thickness of the chalk beneath the city would be found to be 650 feet. At that time the deepest borings had not gone below 300 feet, the depth of the Artesian wells; but recently the borings have been carried through the chalk in four places, showing thicknesses varying between 645 and 653 feet. The special occasion of these deep borings is the search for a more reliable source of water supply than the Artesian wells already in existence afford. When the first of these were put down it was supposed that a supply practically inexhaustible had been tapped, but as the number of them increased, this was found to be by no means the case. Mr. Prestwich has expressed the further opinion that a larger source would be found below the lower green-sand, and now, at a depth of 1060 feet from the surface, the lower green-sand beds have been entered, so that it may be hoped that there will soon be some announcement of the desired success, which will have both a practical and a scientific value. The most interesting point, for those not specially concerned in the practical question involved, is, of course, this verification of prophecy, as

marking a stage in the progress of geology. Here, as elsewhere, of course, the value to be attached to any prediction must depend on the prophet who utters it, and discredit does not, of necessity, fall on the science, because a particular prediction proves false.

The spread of some diseases by means of sewage emanations, and especially typhoid fever, is generally considered to be pretty well established. It cannot be supposed that this, or indeed any other, specific disease can be produced by the inhalation of mere gases, whatever their composition, or however offensive; and these emanations, if active agents, must be so by containing solid or liquid particles. The "Proceedings of the Royal Society of London" contain a report of a paper read by Professor Frankland, on 8th February last, in which he gave an account of an experimental investigation of the conditions under which such particles can be given off by sewage. He refers to the outbreak of cholera in 1866, in a row of clean, healthy houses in Southampton, which was traced by the late Dr. Parkes to the fact that for a fortnight there had been a rush of water in a frothy condition along the open channel in front of the houses, that water, contaminated with excreta from cholera patients, having just been pumped out of the mail steamer in which cases of the disease had occurred. In his experiments Prof. Frankland used a solution of a salt of lithium, which can be detected in minute quantity by the colour it imparts to a flame. He found that when the solution was flowing quietly, or even when actively stirred, it gave off no particles. He then tried the effect of producing effervescence in the solution, calling to mind the fact that spray can be seen rising from an effervescing fluid. While the bubbles of gas were given off freely he held a tube over the solution, and even at distances up to 21 feet he found that the current of air passing along the tube contained distinct traces of lithium, the amount being little less at 21 feet than six feet lower down. It was therefore safe to presume that the spray would have been carried much farther. The conclusions come to were, that sewage matter flowing quietly will not give off any contagious particles, but if these are present, they may easily be given off when the fluid is so much disturbed as to be made frothy, or when it undergoes fermentation or putrefaction, accompanied with the evolution of bubbles of gas. Based on these results are directions that sewage should be conveyed through close pipes, and should never be allowed to stand long enough to allow of any putrefactive change. It may be that these recommendations are just such as would commend themselves to ordinary common sense; but still it

is advisable to have common sense notions subjected to the test of exact experiment, and it is always well to know the scientific basis of an opinion. These experiments are of course liable to the objection that, though lithium or any other inorganic matter may not be given off to a current of air by a fluid at rest or flowing gently, it does not follow that the same would hold good of the particles of a *contagium vivum*. This has been shown, however, by Prof. Cohn, of Breslau, who discovered incidentally, in the course of some investigations, that a fluid swarming with bacteria does not impart them to the air passing over it.

Professor Frankland has also presented to the Royal Society a paper by Gustav Bischof, the inventor of the spongy iron filter, which has recently come into use. The object of the paper was to give an explanation of the action of the spongy iron in removing organic and other matters from water passed through it. It has been shown that minute organisms pass through ordinary charcoal filters uninjured, whilst it is claimed for the new filter that it infallibly kills and destroys them, and, therefore, probably all so-called disease germs. The theory of the action of the iron on organic matter is, that the oxygen in the water converts the metal into ferric hydrate, or to use the older nomenclature, hydrated peroxide, and that this again gives off the oxygen in the nascent condition to the organic matters with the effect of destroying them. This action of iron is observed in every day life in the destructive effect of rust stains on cotton and woollen fabrics. These filters are said to be very durable, and if so the advantages from their use must be great and decided.

JAMES JAMIESON.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

"THE VAGABOND PAPERS," 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Series : George Robertson, Melbourne.

IN the three volumes before us, we have the results obtained by a journalist who undertook to investigate the inner workings of several of our public and charitable institutions, as well as to describe certain other phases of our social life. There can be but one opinion as to the success of "The Vagabond," both from a literary and a commercial point of view. Almost everyone read his articles as they appeared from time to time in the *Argus*, and since their publication in a collected form, they have had a large sale, and it is said, are to be translated into German. To meet with such a reception newspaper articles must be something out of the common. No doubt the great secret of the "Vagabond's" success is the fact that he has "everywhere been on the inside track." This was, as far as we are concerned, a decided novelty, and when so shrewd an observer, as he undoubtedly is, can gain admission to public institutions in the capacity of a paid servant, it is not to be wondered at if he find something new to tell us, and can point to many glaring abuses. Thus, his articles on the Lunatic Asylums attracted great attention, and are not without value to all who are interested in the treatment of the insane. As well as being a shrewd observer, and a lucid narrator of what he has experienced, the "Vagabond" possesses the knack of making his articles readable by means of extraneous personal gossip. The reader is thus enabled to cope with generalizations on crime or insanity, by having them placed in juxtaposition with anecdotes of the writer's previous adventures by sea and land. Many prosaic persons have doubted the truth of some of these auto-biographical revelations. We have heard of one sceptic, who, having estimated the time necessary to go through the various recorded exploits of our enterprising author, came to the conclusion that they could not have been done in less than a hundred years. But all this is quite beside the mark, and so long as the "Vagabond" really interested the public in important social questions (as he undoubtedly did), we need not too curiously enquire into the truthfulness of reminiscences which were merely brought forward to illustrate his views.

We have, however, a much graver accusation to bring against him. We cannot but deprecate his intense and avowed sympathy with the criminal classes, and his strong dislike for anything that savours of respectability. It is true that he exposes with no sparing hand those professional gamblers in our midst who make a handsome livelihood by fleecing a too trusting public; and his denunciation of the more glaring aspects of the "Social Evil," is startling in its violence. Still, even here the weakness of his position, and the instability of his views are but too apparent. In the treatment of the latter problem, utter flippancy alternates with shallow

sentimentality. What a rare opportunity he had, and misused, of dealing with prostitution in a thorough and rational manner, and of showing, without any petulant anger, the actual causes and consequences of this adjunct of civilised life!

When we turn to his papers on Pentridge, we are simply astounded to find the extent of his sympathy with such scoundrels as Power and others, who are made to appear like the heroes of Byron's more meretricious poems. Looked at calmly and dispassionately, and with every desire to make allowance for untoward circumstances, any man who, in a young country like this, deliberately takes to a life of crime and violence, is a dangerous social pest, and should be treated accordingly.

It is an ungrateful task to have to point out the blemishes in a work which is really interesting by its undoubted merits. This sympathy, however, with crime and criminals is becoming so unpleasant a feature of current literature, that it is difficult to pass by, without a protest, so glaring an instance as that afforded by the "Vagabond Papers."

There is much in these volumes to command general attention, and which fully entitles them to their present popularity, but we have grave doubts whether they are of any permanent value, or whether they can be accepted as even an approximate reflex of our social life.

B.

"**ENGLISH HISTORY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY,**" by Charles H. Pearson, late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.

THIS is one of a series of volumes, entitled, "Historical Handbooks," intended for the use of undergraduates and other students who have mastered the outlines of history as given in the ordinary school text books, but who desire to learn something more than the sequence of battles, the dates of treaties, and the marriages of kings; who, in fact, wish to know the state of the country and people, their intellectual and social progress, and how they were affected by the wars and diplomacy of their sovereigns. To such readers the work under review may be safely recommended. "English History in the Fourteenth Century" gives a narrative of the reigns of Edward II., Edward III., and Richard II. In an account of this period a considerable space must of necessity be given to the wars with Scotland, and with France, but these wars possess more than the ordinary interest of battles, as that with France has been well described by a recent historical writer as the "only one which profoundly affected English society and English Government," and Mr. Pearson is careful to describe the effects of the English conquests and subsequent reverses in France on the social and political condition of England. In his preface, the author explains that the fourteenth century in English history is not an arbitrary period, but possesses a unity and completeness which renders it suitable for special study. One of the most interesting portions of the work is the introductory chapter describing the climate and products of England, the condition of her nobles, gentry, and peasants, the castles, monasteries, and woods; and the modes of taxation in the fourteenth

century. The reader will here find many interesting facts, not readily accessible elsewhere.

The chapters describing the social and political results of Edward III's wars and the serf insurrection also deserve special mention.

A comparison between this handbook and the portion of Green's History which deals with the same period is naturally suggested. We learn from Mr. Pearson's preface, that the last named history had not come under his notice until his own work had been written. It is interesting to find that both writers agree generally in their estimates of the characters and policy of the three Edwards, and of the cause and effects of the war with France. To Mr. Green the palm for picturesque and animated style must certainly be given, but Mr. Pearson far excels that brilliant writer in the more essential qualities for an historian, impartiality and accuracy. This is very noticeable in the accounts given by the two writers of the peasant insurrection in the reign of Richard II., to which we have not space to do more than refer. It is, we think, a matter for regret that, for the benefit of those whose memory of dates learned at schools has somewhat faded through lapse of years, that either a chronological table, or marginal dates, have not been given; and a map illustrating the campaign in France would have been useful to the same class of readers, though to those for whom the book is especially written these helps may not be found necessary.

"EPOCHS OF MODERN HISTORY."—"The Age of Anne": By Edward E. Morris, M.A.

THE subject of this notice is the last-published of a series of short histories, some of which are probably already familiar to many of our readers. The object of this and its companion volumes is—to quote Mr. Morris's words—"to enable short periods to be studied with that fulness without which history is comparatively valueless;" and to give a narrative not merely of the events directly affecting one nation, but of those of importance to the various members of the European society which fall within the period treated of.

Those familiar with the difficulties which arise in teaching modern history with the ordinary text-books, will give their cordial approval of the scheme of this series, which overcomes many of those difficulties, and will readily acknowledge themselves indebted to Mr. Morris, who is the author of the theory on which these histories are based. These volumes, too, will be a boon to such as have not time or inclination for the study of the great historical writers, and who reasonably object to the dryness which necessarily accompanies abridgements of histories of long periods.

The present volume gives a narrative of the principal events in European History during the first fourteen years of the eighteenth century.

In order that the author's theory may be satisfactorily worked out, it is necessary that the period dealt with should be not merely a short one, but should have somewhat of an Epochal character—that is to say, the events which occurred should form, as it were, a complete act in the drama of European History, so that

they may be viewed apart from preceding and succeeding events, and should be of such importance as to bring society to another stage in its development. "The Age of Anne," we venture to think, does not so completely fulfil these conditions as the epochs which are dealt with in some of the other volumes.

The events which form the subject of the narrative are intimately connected both with preceding and subsequent history, and many of them are not connected with one another, so that the narrative resembles an act embracing several scenes, which do not advance the plot—and which require introductory dialogues to explain the position of the *dramatis personæ*. This is not, however, a very serious drawback, and the age of Anne is one so full of interest and so influential on subsequent history, that it is not surprising that a place for it should be found in the series.

When we find that this little volume gives a narrative of the wars of the Spanish Succession, of the development of political parties in England, of the union of that country with Scotland, of the lives and battles of Peter the Great and Charles XII., of the latter half of the reign of Lewis XIV., of the economical progress of England, and of the literature of both France and England—it will be seen how stirring and eventful a period it embraces. Mr. Morris's style is generally clear and forcible; we think he excels in his delineations of character and narratives of stirring exploits, such as Peterborough's Expedition to Spain, and the struggles of Peter and Charles XII.; these are specimens of terse and lively narration. In the explanatory passages, particularly in the earlier chapters of the work, the style is not quite so clear, probably from an attempt at too great conciseness.

The chapters on the economic and social condition of England give a large amount of interesting information in a very few pages. The volume, like the others of the series, is illustrated with maps, which much facilitate the comprehension of the campaigns and the changes in the territories of the several European States which occurred during the period.

C. A. T.

